

THE
METHODIST QUARTERLY REVIEW.

OCTOBER, 1842.

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ART. I.—*Literature of the Bible.*

“HAEC STUDIA adolescentiam alunt, senectutem oblectant, secundas res ornant, adversis perfugium ac solatium præbent, delectant domi, non impediunt foris, pernoctant nobiscum, peregrinantur, rusticantur.”—CICERO.

“All the HISTORIAL parts of the Bible, be ryght necessary for to be redde of a noble man, after that he is mature in yeres.”—SIR T. ELYOT.

“Quid est enim, per Deos, optabilis sapientia? quid præstantius? quid homini melius? quid homine dignius? Hanc igitur qui expetant, philosophi nominantur: nec quidquam aliud est PHILOSOPHIA, si interpretari velis, præter studium sapientiæ.”—CICERO.

“Rien n' est BEAU que LE VRAI.”—FR. MAXIM.

THE age in which we live is remarkable for its intellectual, its moral, and its political activity. It is thought that society is making rapid advancement toward the achievement of its destiny. Science is said to be spreading her light into the most distant and uncultivated wilds. Philosophers congratulate us on the progress of wisdom, of truth, and perhaps of virtue; and philanthropists of every name and country have rejoiced over the fancied elevation of the species. There are some, also, of the church, who would descry, from their superior position or faith, the dawning of a better day; and by others, these hopes are magnified into an expectation of an immediate revelation of the Lord from heaven.

It is far from our intention to diminish or discourage the hopes of humanity: with her brightest dreams she has woes enough to suffer, without the additional and unnecessary infliction of despondency. But it is equally a duty and a mercy to guard her against disappointment. Perhaps it may be sufficient for our purpose to remark, that there is some truth mingled with this fiction. The picture is only too bright. The intellect is undoubtedly advancing to its goal, society to its climax; but all history condemns the confidence in sudden or fitful improvement. The world progresses in

its career, as the earth rolls in its orbit; though it may occasionally accelerate, it is by a gradual and imperceptible increase of its motion.

Personal observation and experience detract from the brightness of this vision. The annals of every period might be deduced to prove, that the progress of society, in its individual and social capacities, has been parallel with the knowledge and practice of those principles and precepts which constitute the matter and interest of revelation; nor would it be so difficult as painful to demonstrate, how little the social state is characterized by an individual acquaintance with the Bible. The only book in itself sublime, in its use universally applicable, is the only one generally neglected or contemned. Those countries most devoted to literature, to reading, to religion, will scarcely alleviate the darkness of this picture. The translation of the Scriptures by Luther, at a period when the appetite for truth was rendered uncommonly keen by ages of previous scarcity, so deeply impressed the mind and character of his susceptible countrymen, that in their language and manners they are more thoroughly Scriptural, according to general consent, than any modern nation.* And yet, what a spectacle of infidelity does Germany present! France is proverbially the home of skepticism: from the days of the *pragmatic sanction* to the present moment, she has indicated an irrational tendency to rationalism; to a conceited independence of revelation; which, it must be confessed, has never taken deep hold of the intelligence or affections of the people. In England, impiety has been more learned, the populace not less ignorant, than in most Christian countries. The polished or erudite skepticism of the eighteenth century had nearly obtained the supremacy of the English mind; the finest writers of the language had apparently conspired to silence the voice of inspiration by their eloquent sophistry; it had almost become a maxim of popular criticism, that a free use of Scripture, even in the pulpit, is to be regarded as opposite to good taste: the pulpit was consequently losing both its liberty and its power. The American people were at this period emerging from colonial servitude to the dignity and stability of a nation; nor can it be considered unnatural that the youngest daughter of the east should respect the example of a mother, at that time giving laws to the human mind. The antithesis is certainly remarkable, that we are now taught to expect the sudden perfection of prophecy and of man, within the short space of a century from the time when

* See Schlegel's Hist. Lit., vol. ii, p. 251, and other writers on the subject.

the celebrated prediction of Voltaire was cherished, and perhaps believed, by a large proportion of the learning and intellect of the age.

The philosopher, perhaps the Christian, of every country, has learned to compute the causes which have disappointed the friends, if not the enemies of this prediction. In England, societies were numerously instituted, literary and religious associations were formed, to quell this mutiny of intoxicated reason, to repel the aggressions of infidelity against the peace of society and the rights of mind. Few persons can have forgotten the noble part which the prescient genius of Robert Hall was constrained to take in the momentous struggle. His sermon against the popular skepticism will perhaps survive as the proudest monument of his talents, and an indestructible obstacle to the progress of the enemy's cause; while the severe castigation which he inflicted on the alienated affection and perverted taste of his countrymen, in his able review of Mr. Foster's *Essays*, will remain to demonstrate the invincible edge which merited gentleness imparts to the truth.

Though we enjoy the fruit of these labors, we have no occasion to celebrate a triumph. We may not forget, that to the three nations whose deistical features have been briefly delineated we trace the origin of our nation, its language, its manners, its institutions and laws; nor is it a question of easy solution, of which we inherit the larger proportion, the stubborn sense of our Anglo-Saxon ancestors, or the light, the airy, the transient, perhaps the skeptical, spirit of the Norman invaders. It is certain, however, that our national character is not formed for spontaneous virtue: we fluctuate between its two extremes—between the excesses or imperfections of reason and fancy. We daily demonstrate our national descent by the literary demands which we make upon the mother countries. We import thoughts from Germany to nourish hereditary skepticism, and its shadows or ornaments from France, to gratify a vitiated imagination. The Bible is comparatively forgotten or unread. To our philosophers, if we have any, Plato is more familiar than Moses; to our poets, Horace, Anacreon, or Goethe, is more congenial than David; to some of our ministry, to many of our age and country, Kant, Straus, and Hegel are more grateful than the apostles.

The extremes of this character are scarcely separated by a minority of sterling minds, who are happy to read truth in their vernacular tongue; to gather its stores from every language and region; and to consolidate the interests of literature and religion by making revelation the test, by which the suggestions of each mind

and of every age must be tried. They form the continuation of that illustrious line of sanctified intellects, which have illustrated our capacity for enlightened virtue, and adorned the connection of science and revelation in every period of the world. In the age of Erasmus and Luther, of Milton and Bentley, of Johnson and Burke, literature was the faithful and respected ally of Christianity. The fame of Addison more securely rests upon his classic appeals for the morality and other excellences of the Bible; his genius and virtues are propagated, if they are not rivaled, by the most worthy of our contemporaries. But, generally, the condition of this reading republic is in itself most lamentable, in its influence upon evangelical religion peculiarly hostile. With the slight but laudable exception above made, we are divided between an exotic philosophism and a greedy indigenous love of fantastic fiction. The neophytes of the one class, and the veteran fanatics of the other, include three-fourths of the book-loving public. The morbid and factitious sensibility created by the former served to introduce and diffuse the crazy, pantheistic sophistry, and delusive phantoms of the latter; and the league, which seems to be at length concluded between them, threatens to sweep the fairest fruits of past industry, and the brightest promises of the future, into one common vortex of popular infidelity. Books are now saleable in inverse proportion to their value, or in the direct ratio of their moral and literary distance from the Bible. The Bible itself has lost a moiety of its practical effect, by the manner in which we permit the taste and judgment of the young to be educated. At home and abroad, in the social or polished circle, in the pales of academical instruction, to some extent, in the pulpit itself, our children are taught to tremble at the commands of the divine code; while their budding and generous fancy is transported by the charming associations which are thrown around the classics of other ages. To them the symbol of revelation is Mount Sinai, flashing and pealing with the terrific ensigns of indignation and wrath; but their eyes rest with placid composure and delight on the streams and groves of Parnassus, the vale of Tempe, and the garden of the Hesperides. The primary effect of a finished education, except it is opposed by previous associations, or strenuous personal efforts, is to form a comparative disrelish for revelation, and to corrupt the imagination with pictures which gratify, but disturb the mind.

These evils the friends of Christianity have long since contemplated and regretted. Books of eloquence and argument have been written; the pulpit has occasionally taken a correct view of the subject; but our efforts have hitherto been languid because un-

philosophical, and unphilosophical because they were languid. No Christian will deny that the world is to be enlightened as well as saved by the Bible; and it is a hoary truth, that to purify the stream we must take special care of its fountain; but there is a work more fundamental than that of Bible classes and sabbath schools; an interest in the Bible itself must be awakened or created before we can expect adequate success in the inculcation of its principles or the propagation of its spirit. We would have the youth of our country instructed to appreciate and prize the literature of the Scriptures, that their warmest affections and most glowing associations and fancies may centre in a book, which is afterward to instruct their reason, to quicken and guide their conscience, to command and secure their obedience.

To second this laudable work, the reader is invited to a general discussion of the literature of the Bible; in the course of which we shall present some of its claims to become a standard reading book with the most cultivated and literary intellects and circles of any age. But our object is not eulogy. It is truth. We seek no embellishment, but facts; the most rapturous praise seems puerile in comparison of a calm and just statement of the convictions of reason, and the verdict of sound sense and dispassionate taste.

Though we might be disposed to reject the analysis which Lord Bacon gives of human knowledge, we are willing to risk the reputation of the Bible, as a literary production, on a candid and critical examination and application of the three elements which he proposes—on its history, its philosophy, and its poetry; and to these three topics the candid and careful attention of the reader is solicited.

We are informed by Italian history, that Petrarch, the father of modern literature, found means to soften the grief occasioned by the loss of his Greek preceptor and intimate friend, by the possession which it gave him of a valuable manuscript, which the Byzantine scholar had snatched from the sack of Constantinople. Instead of the tragedies of Euripides or Sophocles, let us suppose that the manuscript was a faithful copy of the historical books of the Old Testament; that it had lain for ages in the vaults of the imperial library, unnoticed and unknown; that, by some probable calamity, such as the capture of Alexandria, or the demolition of Antioch by the califs, all other copies and versions had been buried in irretrievable destruction or oblivion; and that the only knowledge which the world possessed of these books was founded on tradition, or the slight references of the apostolic fathers. These references are sufficient to attest the general value, but not enough to convey

the particular facts and doctrines of these remarkable productions. Petrarch, besides being the first poet, was also the ablest philosopher and most erudite scholar of his age; and may be supposed to have read all extant records of so wonderful a work. With a mind stored with all ascertainable facts, imagine him opening the immortal but long-lost treasure. Who can adequately conceive the emotions with which he would peruse it? As a lover of antiquity, he is holding in his hands the oldest production of the pen; which treats of the oldest transactions of the world; which reveals the history of the oldest and most important people of the earth. As a philosopher, he learns the origin, the relations, the destiny of all things. As a scholar, he possesses the most authentic and wonderful collection of facts which the recollections or industry of any age has recorded. As a philanthropist, he anticipates the transcendent influence which this volume is destined to exert on the varied fortunes of mankind. Those who recollect the extravagant delight of Pythagoras, when the beautiful method of detecting the adulteration of metals was accidentally suggested to his mind, may conceive a portion of the rapture which would transport our fortunate philosopher. We may also picture in our fancies the excitement such a discovery would have produced in the heart and to the extremities of the civilized world. If the nineteenth in place of the fourteenth century could be supposed to be the period of this discovery, with what rail-road speed, with what perfect enthusiasm, would the news be carried to the four quarters of the globe! And if, by reason of any possible necessity, it were impracticable to multiply copies of this remarkable antique, the eyes of mankind would be concentrated and fixed to the spot where the original was deposited; and half the philosophers of the age would traverse mountains and seas to inspect or to gaze upon a work possessed of such unbounded historical interest—upon a work of which nothing less can be said, however hyperbolical the figure may appear, than that it was edited in heaven, and published by inspiration, for the benefit of a world! So forgetful is the present generation of the historical merits of the Bible!

It was once the fortune of a student to be reading in conjunction the nine books of Herodotus, and the two books respectively of Samuel and of Kings. The former possessed the advantage of the ordinary classic associations and prejudices. They were named from the muses; and it seemed as if they had presided over the writer in dictating his style. They were fresh to the young fancy of the reader, as he had never undertaken to peruse them before. From the beginning he was impressed with a perceptible similarity

of manner. The most pleasing narrative, the most captivating biographical sketches, the greatest variety and most charming vicissitude of incidents, characters, and scenes, were in each successively presented to his mind. All the possibilities of fortune, all the principles and passions of our nature, all the lessons and precepts of philosophy, are illustrated by the ever-changing historical pictures of the inspired and classical page. For a time his untaught judgment vacillated between the interest which each work, in its turn, could inspire; and though he was constantly delighted by the sweet simplicity of each, his mind began soon to compare the frequent fable of the one, with the sustained historical integrity of the other; the useful amusement which he derived from the former, with the superior literary effect which attended and followed the lessons of the latter; the irregular and perplexed method of the Ionic historian, with the clear and consecutive style of the historic muse of inspiration; the comparatively trivial importance of the facts detailed by the Greek, with the inconceivable value to be attached to the writings of the Hebrew composer; and, above all, the corrupting examples of success attending the most ostensible vice, with the retributive justice and virtuous influence which characterize the narratives of Scripture. By the respectable authority of Cicero, Herodotus holds the same place among historians that Homer maintains among poets, and Demosthenes among orators. Through numerous ages, and in all civilized countries, he has been justly styled the father of profane history; but, in every point of resemblance or contrast he sinks or suffers in comparison with Moses. The latter is more simple, more credible, more captivating as a writer, than the former. There is a vague admiration bestowed upon Herodotus, which, though in part deserved, imparts a false brilliancy to his character. He is rarely read; but when read by a person of judgment and taste, his inferiority to the inspired historian is very apparent. If these inspired books could be translated in a style as rich, as sweet, as flowing, as the original would bear, or as Mr. Beloe has attained in his popular version of Herodotus, and thrown into market in tasteful binding, our sabbath schools and Bible classes would hold them in higher demand than any similar productions in the English language. Was there ever an intelligent boy who was not infinitely amused by the stories which they contain? Parents have forgotten, or mistake the charming character of this portion of the Bible, no less than the peculiar disposition of children, if they suppose that the fortunes of Robinson Crusoe, or the sufferings of Riley, or the valor of the Scottish chiefs, or the tales of popular fiction, are better adapted to awaken

a thirst for knowledge, or fix the habits of reading and study, than these unexceptionable specimens of interesting narrative. What a character for a boy is young Samuel ! What a little hero is David ! How many boys have expanded their muscles and minds in imitating and meditating the feats and fortunes of Samson ! But time would fail us to rehearse the tale of Jonathan's affection for David, the battles of King Saul, the adventures of his rival, the revolt and death of Absalom, the subjugation of the giants, the wisdom and grandeur of Solomon, the building and dedication of the temple, the miraculous preservation of Elijah, the trial of the false prophets, the cure of Naaman's leprosy, and the eventful and interesting reigns of the kings of Israel, till the invasion and conquests of Nebuchadnezzar ; nor does the world afford an equal portion of profane history, so infinitely captivating to young minds. By no other productions has the writer been so perfectly convinced that the certainties of fact may transcend in interest the possibilities of fiction.

Again, if history is philosophy teaching by example, biography, by concentrating the interest of that example in the life and fortunes of a single distinguished individual, imprints the living precept upon the memory and heart with irresistible force ; nor is there any extant book in which this species of history is so extensively employed, or so beautifully illustrated, as in the Bible. Human nature is scarcely susceptible of a modification which does not find its brightest image, or strongest parallel, among the numerous characters that figure in the Scriptures. Poets, orators, scholars, sages, counselors, statesmen, princes, kings, and empires, pass before the mind in rapid and brilliant succession. Every element of our being, under every variety of circumstances, is here personated in the most striking and forcible manner. The characters of Scripture are all drawn with masterly power ; but some, from superlative intrinsic worth, deserve a superior place in our recollection. The marked peculiarities of Paul might defy the colors of a Rubens ; nor could the daring genius of Michael Angelo have made a more bold or characteristic attempt than to delineate the moral and intellectual features of King David ; while the lucid simplicity, and placid, lamb-like gentleness of John, transcend not only the magic of the pencil, but the most ambitious and graphic conceptions of the fancy. The character of the Saviour is in itself inimitable and unique ; profane history can furnish no example worthy of a moment's comparison ; the tongue of the orator, the pencil of the artist, and the inspirations of poetry, have failed in the frequent attempt to repeat the image, which the evangelists have

drawn in such simple and beautiful colors. If the Lives of Plutarch are the most durable monument of his powers; if the biographical sketches of the great English moralist constitute his paramount claim to immortality; if the Columbus of a contemporary and countryman is destined to outstrip and survive every other herald of his fame; what language shall be employed to express our estimate of a book in which this species of literature combines the highest conceivable excellences of subject, incident, and style!

If the writer of the pentateuch was not inspired, he must have been the most intellectual of men; and his works, from this consideration alone, are worthy of the most animated perusal. If he was inspired, the fact infinitely enhances the value of his history and the interest with which we should study it. As science has been enlarging its circle, and shedding new light upon the world, the theories and philosophical systems of profane antiquity have been losing their influence upon the popular mind; while the historical doctrines of the Bible have acquired incontestible possession of the intellect in all civilized countries. The brief description of the building of Babel has given rise to a new and beautiful science; and the comparative study of languages has already attracted the attention of the ablest minds, and charmed the politest circles of America and Europe. The first chapter of Genesis has been expanded into a system; and the noble deductions of geology, based upon a liberal construction of this portion of inspired history, have magnified our conceptions of ourselves and of the world we inhabit. The metaphysics of Grecian philosophy had thrown a cloud of impenetrable mystery over the science of morals and of mind; antiquity itself was disgusted with the futile attempts to explain or explore the profound and intricate labyrinth; the Bible, by one stroke, has dispelled the darkness, has broken the mystery, by attributing to man a *living soul*, the image of its Creator, and the heir of immortality.* Moses, by a genius which entitles him to unqualified and universal respect, or by a divine gift which infinitely augments the value of his productions, seems to have anticipated the progress and triumphs of all science; since the growth of centuries has not proved absurd, or even rendered obsolete, one of the thousand allusions which he makes to the

* The great Roman philosopher employs still stronger terms in his *Offices*. Vid. lib. i. 2. He says, "The very being of virtue was destroyed;" but his own system, founded upon the nature of man and his relations to time and eternity, (which he did not understand,) is almost equally imperfect.—Vid. *Offices*, lib. i, *passim*.

nature, laws, and deductions of all the sciences that were then cultivated, and of many which were at that time unknown to the mind.

In every sense, the writings of the Hebrew legislator and historian are of great price to the scholar and to the world. They furnish a view of nearly every question of interest and importance to mankind. The reader, standing upon a lofty eminence, can look backward to the origin of society; can witness the gradual formation and dispersion of the races; can inspect the rise and development of language; can discover the germs of the proudest kingdoms and most important nations; can go back to the infancy of all the great ideas which have animated the successive generations of man; can study the earliest institutions of the social and religious systems, and mark their distinct and respective influences upon the condition and fortunes of the world; can trace to its source, and through a series of ages, the civilization of every period and people; in a word, can hold in his grasp the great original facts which explain the revolutions, the changes, and progress of six thousand years, and which must continue to guide and govern the destinies of all subsequent time. And, if prophecy be regarded as the anticipation of history, the Bible is not only a universal history, but, what is infinitely more, a history of the universe. It records the alpha and omega of all created things. It is not the fortunes of an individual, nor the annals of an empire, nor yet the revolutions of an age, but the events of an undivided eternity—of an eternity that extends from *everlasting to everlasting*—that constitute the historic interest of this wonderful volume. It is the history of matter and of mind. Upon a boundless theatre, the one starts into being, expands, multiplies, revolves, and expires; within the same ample period, the latter emanates from heaven, executes the mighty functions of its mission, bursts its fetters, and returns. God, angels, and men; heaven, earth, and hell; the past, present, and future, are all introduced and illustrated in these luminous pages. If a figure may be ventured in this stage of our remarks, the Bible places the eye of man in the pole of this unbounded globe of things, and projects to him a chart of the unmeasured, illimitable, glorious universe! It is needless to insist, that a clear and faithful epitome of all history ought to secure the interest and attention, as it challenges the admiration, of the civilized world!

For the term philosophy, we are indebted to the modesty of Pythagoras, who disclaimed the vain boast implied in the appellation of Sophist, and assumed the discreet but ample title of Lover of Wisdom. Wisdom both in the Greek and Hebrew languages,

is the word employed to designate the highest species of knowledge. It is the attempt of philosophy to investigate and comprehend the mystery of existence, the meaning of the universe. Like a solitary traveler, surveying, from some eligible summit, the numberless points and features of a newly-discovered landscape, over which are scattered the monuments and promiscuous demonstrations of an unknown but illustrious people, and attempting to answer to himself the important questions respecting their origin, their institutions, and their civilization, which would naturally occur to an intelligent mind ; so the philosopher, elevated above the mass of his fellow-beings, by a loftier or more penetrating genius, stands out, isolated and alone, upon the verge of creation, and essays to solve the infinite problem implied in the great fabric of nature :—"Whence, and for what purpose, are these worlds of light, this boundless contiguity of things, this wonderful system of animate and inanimate forms ?" If man is by nature an inquisitive being, this is the sublimest inquiry he can raise ; and the answer which meets and satisfies this interrogation constitutes the essence of all philosophy, human and divine.

The speculations of enthusiasm and fancy have rendered the study of philosophy, to some extent, disreputable ; but, in itself, it is the paramount topic of human investigation. Indeed, there is no topic which is not justly regarded as its property. It is the receptacle of all thought, of all science, of all experience. It is the focus to which the world's literature concentrates. It covers the entire ground of human inquiry. All history is but a continued illustration of its truths ; and genuine poetry is only an embellished expression of its principles. The mere scholar, the devotee of science, the man of words, of facts, or of dimensions, is but the day laborer, the tasked operative to that widely surveying and constructive genius, which, like a sole architect, builds from the materials supplied him the august temple of philosophy. Christianity itself is philosophy more clearly and extensively taught ; Christ is the key to that mystery which it proposes to expound ; revelation breaks the seal of that volume which reason had ineffectually endeavored to unroll. With conceivable propriety was it said of Socrates, that he brought down philosophy from heaven to the abodes of men ; for, in whatever light we regard it, it is divine. Human philosophy is the attempt of reason to explore the universe in search of its Author ; sacred philosophy is the act of the Author of the universe in bringing his existence within the compass of reason. By the one, the soul puts on wings to soar upward through natural causes to its infinite Creator ; by the other, the Creator

condescends to manifest his character through natural agencies to the soul. There would seem to be (I had almost said) a mutual affinity, a species of spiritual polarity, between the two beings, and nothing divides them but matter; each is seeking each, and neither is at rest till the other is found; and it is not less glorious than humiliating, that that which baffles the aspirations of the less, offers no obstacle to the omnipotence of the greater. If man, by his wisdom, cannot find out God; God, by his power, can find out man. Philosophy celebrates the moment, the act, the triumph, of mutual discovery; and whether it is founded upon reason or revelation, it is the most magnificent theme of human contemplation.

In all ages of the world, among every class of philosophers, this great subject has been conveniently surveyed under a three-fold division: whatever may have been the modifications of successive centuries and schools, GOD, the WORLD, and MAN, have been the three primary topics of philosophical reflection. First, they are separately and distinctly examined; then, the complex web of relations, and the intricate lines of duty, are instituted or explored. This, and nothing else, is philosophy. In pagan and Christian countries, in remote and modern times, the speculations of all individuals and sects have been consistently classified according to this division. God, the universe, and man, are the three WORDS of philosophy. No power can destroy either, as a subject of reflection. No wisdom can add another. All philosophy consists in an analysis of them. If these words are retained and comprehended by the mind, the world is safe against innovation and error. If either is omitted or misunderstood, the most dreadful consequences may ensue. The history of France furnishes an awful example. So intimately are these words allied, that error respecting one of them will infallibly communicate itself to the others. They are the three words of the Bible. They are the main columns of Christianity. In the name of both philosophy and Christianity, with a heart beating with interest for their preservation, we might appeal to the human intellect in the language of Schiller,—

“O trust in these words of mightiest power,
They are the wide world's treasure;
Through ages they've been man's richest dower,
And the Spirit their depth must measure.”

But, whatever has been the fate of the past, or whatever may be the destiny of the future, it is a consolation to a contemplative mind, that, amid the changes and revolutions of opinion, the problem itself which these words suggest, and which philosophy

proposes to explain, is as fresh to each new-comer on the stage of life, as when the universe first dropped, glorious and fair, from the plastic hands of Omnipotence.

In a few observations we shall endeavor to show that human philosophy, in its most triumphant period, is but seeing through a glass darkly; that sacred or revealed philosophy contemplates its objects, its realities, face to face.

In the celebrated painting of Raphael, entitled the School of Athens, the two rival aspirants to the philosophical crown are the most prominent figures. Aristotle stands with a deep, down-cast, penetrating look, as though he were scrutinizing the very essence of things; but Plato, with a countenance of serenity and great dignity, like an ancient prophet, is lifting his hand to heaven, as if in the act of revealing the mystery of nature to a listening world. Not only the pencil of this artist, but the better judgment of the learned, has awarded Plato the palm of pre-eminence over all philosophers who have based their speculations upon reason. In the magnificence of intellect, in the brilliancy of imagination, in the universal splendor of genius, he has perhaps never been surpassed. If his system be compared with the Bible, there will remain nothing to be done in behalf of Scriptural philosophy, which a just and judicious comparison will not accomplish. He may be regarded as having reached the summit of that pyramid, which, in his system, represents the eminence to which human effort can aspire; but that eminence, as we shall have reason to conclude, is far too humble for the satisfaction of an immortal mind.

In man, in other animals, in the vegetable world, Plato recognized the existence of two principles, operating together for the production of certain results; one of these principles was perceptible to the senses, the other was not; the first was active, the second passive; the former was mind, or soul, or spirit, the latter was substance or matter. All existences might be referred to these two principles; and if he sought their origin, he was compelled by the first maxim of ancient logic, and, as he supposed, by the very instinct of his spiritual being, to believe, that *from nothing, nothing can proceed*; that, without previous materials, mind could not create matter, nor matter mind. He must, therefore, recognize two distinct, independent, eternal natures, which, being combined in different proportions according to certain models which eternally existed in the conceptions of the divine mind, produced the infinite variety of forms which surround us.

Matter offered an obstinate, invincible resistance to the benevolent intentions of the First Intelligence; hence the universe is im-

perfect : clouds and storms, diseases and death, earthquakes and volcanic fires, will perpetuate their assaults upon the happiness of mankind, because the good Being who created the world had not the power to execute his desires. The universe is an animated being, a living animal, endowed with a sensitive soul ; and the earth is turned upon its axis (for Plato had discovered its diurnal revolution) by the impulse of an inferior soul much corrupted by the free admixture in its composition of the material element. The spiritual nature of man was an emanation from the pure Intelligence ; but, in its passage through the two world-souls, it had contracted a deep corruption, which infected its entire essence. The number of human souls was exactly equal to the stars of heaven ; and one star was appropriated to each soul, as a solitary and perpetual residence. But, for some reason which is not adequately stated in the extant works of our philosopher, it became necessary, or expedient, or desirable, to give them a more contracted habitation. Material bodies or dungeons were created, into which the unfortunate or rebellious spirits were plunged, to serve a period of punishment or probation, until death, like a friendly bailiff, should break their fetters, and release them from life, the greatest calamity of their existence.*

Virtue consists in declaring indomitable hostility to matter ; in asserting the dignity of the spirit ; in pursuing the reminiscences of our former celestial condition ; in abstract and protracted self-communion, by which the pure spirit is exalted above the appetites and passions originating in the corrupt portions of the soul, and carried on the wings of sublime and holy meditation to enjoy, in this life, the reflection of its supernal state, and, at death, to the realms of unfaded and unfading glory. The good Creator would certainly assist his offspring in this great work of self-elevation ; nor would any unfortunate spirit be doomed to suffer the base alloy which had adulterated his being, and undermined the foundations of human happiness, a single moment after the creating Intelligence should acquire the means or the capacity to make the separation, or possess the art to hold in check the stubborn opposition of matter. The pure soul is immortal, *because*, in nature, all things end in their contraries : sleep terminates in wakefulness,

* Cicero expresses the same sentiment in his *Cato* :—"Nam, dum sumus in his inclusi compagibus corporis, munere quodam necessitatis et gravi opere perfungimur. Est enim animus cælestis ex altissimo domicilio depressus et quasi demersus in terram, locum divinæ naturæ æternitatisque contrarium."—*XXI. 77*. And this opinion was almost universal among the most celebrated of ancient philosophers. It can be traced back to the soofeeism of the East, and forward to the scholasticism and monkery of the West.

life in death, and hence death in life ; *because* the rational part of the soul is a simple, and hence indivisible, indissoluble, indestructible substance ; *because* the fact of prior existence indicates the probability of a future life ; *because* spirit is the only active principle, and matter, the sole antagonist of the thinking part, being merely passive, there remains no agent possessed of the power or the disposition to annihilate the mind. Such is the frail system which infidels have professed to prefer to the philosophical doctrines of the Bible.*

In contemplating this concentrated image of Platonism it will be expedient to repeat, that, by the confession of more than twenty centuries, it equals or transcends every other system in the dignity and sublimity of its doctrines, in the general consistency of its parts, and in the moral influence of its precepts. Every system which had preceded it was inexpressibly more ridiculous ; profane philosophy has furnished in later ages nothing superior to it. The *similar parts* of Anaxagoras, the *atoms* of Leusippus, the *sensible elements* of Thales, the *unity* of Parmenides, the *mystic numbers* of Pythagoras, had all preceded the *ideal* theory of Plato, and were equally ludicrous when placed in juxta-position with his doctrines ; while, as we have intimated, the world will be slow in acknowledging any debt of gratitude to the Grecian sects which succeeded Plato, to the belligerent and bloody feuds of the middle or scholastic period, or even to the more recent *dogmaticism* of Des Cartes, the *idealism* of Spinoza, or the still less sensible *realism* of Leibnitz. Kant, it is said, has founded a new and more glorious system ; but, in the humble judgment of the writer, that system is nothing less than a vain attempt to amalgamate the dialectics of Aristotle with the celebrated ideas of Plato ; and we may be assured, that a union of two old errors is not likely to produce a new truth. When the perfection of subtilty is wedded to a frantic imagination, we have no reason to expect a more tangible offspring than transcendentalism ; nor have its greatest admirers been able to demonstrate a single advantage which philosophy has acquired from its existence. Bacon, Locke, and Reid, it is true, are the fathers of a new and rational school ; but it forms no exception to the position previously assumed, if it is founded as much on the facts of revelation as on the conduct of experience. In a

* The above argument for the immortality of the soul, Cicero adopts as his own, and adds the significant—"Hic Plato noster." His own defense of this doctrine is enough to inspire us with respect for philosophy, but not enough to supersede the necessity of revelation. Let the reader consult the conclusion of that incomparable treatise, De Senectute.

word, it may be again repeated, that Plato expounded as much of the great problem of philosophy as any preceding or subsequent writer; and it is his far-famed and idolized theory that we compare with the philosophical doctrines of the Bible.

We are instructed by Eusebius to believe, that Moses was the author of certain theological and philosophical works not now extant, in which he displayed the most consummate knowledge of speculative wisdom, and of the arts and sciences; and upon the respectable authority of Philo, and several other Jewish writers, we might eulogize the great philosopher and historian of the Scriptures in the most ample and sonorous terms; we might almost convince ourselves that, from these books, Pythagoras and Plato condescended to rifle or borrow the elements of their respective systems; and, with twenty of the Christian fathers, we might challenge the world to demonstrate the improbability of this position. But we shall resort to no speculations of this character, or of any description, to exalt the philosophy of revelation. We rest the cause on the facts, the doctrines, the arguments, actually recorded in the Bible. Whatever may have been the literary character of the inhabitants of Palestine, their historians, lawgivers, and prophets exhibit a wonderful acquaintance with nature. How readily shall we recognize the change in passing from Grecian to Hebrew philosophy!

Instead of two causes of the universe, we have but one; and the conception of that Cause is the highest idea of the mind. It is a Being possessed of all the attributes of sublimity. He is the universal Father, and the Father of the universe. He is infinite in knowledge, unlimited in goodness, almighty in power. In his nature he is spiritual, immutable, eternal. He knows no fate or necessity to limit his virtues, no antagonist or rival to equal or oppose his designs. In his character he is more lovely than his works, more pure and radiant than light, more tender and affectionate than maternal love. He is more vast than space, more awful than nature, more majestic than the universe; as infinite as he is amiable, as glorious as he is infinite. In a word, (what volumes could not express,) how beautiful, how sublime, how inconceivable, is the character of God!*

* The profound and elegant Cicero, the greatest of all commentators on Grecian philosophy, and whom, on this subject, it is necessary continually to consult, ingenuously exposes the dissension which reigned among ancient philosophers respecting the nature of the supreme Being; and as frankly confesses the unworthy and unsatisfactory notions which generally prevailed. His testimony is unprejudiced and decisive.—Vid., lib. i, c. 1, &c., *De Natura Deorum*.

The second topic of philosophy is the *UNIVERSE*. Though the Bible does not undertake to teach us astronomy, to display the length and breadth of creation, this, it should be remembered, is not the object of philosophy. It is the province of science to accomplish this purpose. It is the origin, not the extent, of the universe, which philosophers of every age have proposed to reveal. But the Bible alone has succeeded in the design. A single inquiry contains or suggests the substance of all philosophy: "Hath the rain a father, or who hath begotten the drops of dew?" And we recognize the voice of a Creator in the reply: "Whatsoever is under the whole heaven is mine!" "In the beginning God created the heaven and the earth." When this point is determined, physical philosophy is satisfied. The universe is accounted for, the mystery is broken, the darkness is expelled! Here, the first sentence of the Bible, one breath of inspiration, achieves in a moment what had baffled the philosophers of all ages! We have found the Creator of all things. But the single appellation of Creator involves every attribute of Deity; and the one characteristic of *created* includes every subordinate quality and relation of universal nature. In a word, we have reached the perfection of philosophy. The most clear and beautiful radiance is thrown over the world. The poet has full scope for his fancy, the philosopher for his intellect, the soul for its hopes, emotions, and desires. Nature is endowed with a voice. Her brooks can speak; her rocks, and caves, and woods address a language and a meaning to the soul; and the soul exults in the directness and majesty of her speech:

"Motionless torrents! silent cataracts!
Who made you glorious as the gates of heaven
Beneath the keen full moon? Who bade the sun
Clothe you with rainbows? Who, with living flowers,
Of lovelier hue, spread garlands at your feet?"

"God! let the torrents, like a shout of nations,
Answer! and let the ice-plains echo, God!
God! sing ye meadow-streams, with gladsome voice:
Ye pine-groves, with your soft and soul-like sound!
And they, too, have a voice, yon piles of snow,
And in their perilous fall shall thunder, God!"

The last word of philosophy is *MAN*; at once the subject and object of philosophical reflection. Prior to revelation, man was indeed the greatest mystery to man. Neither his origin, his character, nor his destiny, was known. In the Bible he is caused to stand upon the foreground; and the light of the entire scene is

accumulated upon him. He is a compound being: he is spirit, and he is matter. By the one, he represents the universe; by the other, its author. Like the world, his body is temporal and passes away; like the Creator, the soul is immaterial and eternal.* His equality to his fellows teaches him the first lessons of social happiness and civil liberty; that he is the creature, the offspring, of God, impresses on his heart, on his conscience, the primary elements of piety and religion. He is the counterpart, the correlate, the microcosm, of the universe, and the reflected image of its Author. As an intellectual being, his law is eternal expansion; and there is no assignable limit to the growth of his moral powers. His aptitude for sorrow or joy, for pleasure and pain, is commensurate with the expansibility of his faculties and the duration of his being. Though, by personal transgression, he has brought darkness and evil upon the works of nature, and guilt, dejection, and terror into his own once-enraptured bosom, and, in his present state, is indeed but the

“Pendulum betwixt a smile and tear,”

the mercy of God, like an angel of light, has descended from heaven to indicate a destiny which an angel might covet, and which is evidently the utmost that mercy could devise.

“KNOW THYSELF” is the first precept of ancient wisdom; and a recent genius has remarked, that

“The proper study of mankind is man;”

nor can it be rationally doubted, that the knowledge of human nature is one of the best results of intellectual exertion. But where shall we find a teacher like the writers of the Bible? Among historians, Thucydides and Livy; among philosophers, Socrates and Theophrastus; and of all poets, Sophocles and

* No evidence is required to prove that the immortality of the soul is a doctrine peculiar to the gospel. The ancients were divided into three schools in relation to it. The first were the infidels, among whom is to be ranked the great Aristotle, who remarks, “That death is the most terrible of all things; it is the end of our existence, and after it, man has neither to expect good nor to fear evil.” Their motto was, “When death is, we are not.” The second class maintained the doctrine of emanation, and re-absorption, which destroys the soul’s proper immortality. The third entertained a *hope*, more or less firm, of the truth of this sentiment; but were firmly persuaded of it, as Cicero somewhere observes, “only when they were contemplating the proofs by which it is to be maintained.” But Christianity lays the foundation of *faith*; it renders the immortality of the soul as certain as any doctrine of the Bible. “*Because I live,*” says the Saviour, “ye shall live also.” “As in Adam all die, even so in Christ shall all be made alive.”

Shakspeare, have claimed, in all civilized countries, the merit of being the most admirable and penetrating expounders of this science; but what classical scholar will deny that, when compared with the master spirits of revelation, their pre-eminence is lost amid the lustre of superior qualities? Man never appears so beautiful, so noble, so true to himself, as when the Bible portrays the original excellences of his character; nor is there any thing so faithful, so perfect, so faultless, as the description which it gives of his condition as a sinner. When the Saviour throws the light of his countenance upon him, we are interested even in his weakness, we sympathize in his very degradation and distresses; and when man rises from the depths of his iniquity, and is purified by the blood, and clothed in the righteousness of his Redeemer, there is no object more interesting, more inexpressibly lovely. When, in the subsequent use of his faculties, he begins with enkindled zeal and generous interest to explore the philosophy of his being and abode, the full original of his manlike nobility reappears. The Bible is honored by this character; and Christianity might have dictated the splendid apostrophe of the poet,—

“How beautiful, O man, with branch of palm,
Thou standest on the century's slope! how calm,
How noble in thy manhood's prime!
With unseal'd sense, with spirit full and free,
With smiling earnestness and still activity,
The ripest son of time!”

Finally, it is the Bible alone that has revealed the origin, the relations, and the true destiny of man to man. It is the Bible alone that breaks the mystery of universal nature. It is the Bible alone that restores to the conceptions of the human mind the august character of that Being, who is the greatest and most glorious object of all philosophy, sacred and profane. It does not satisfy the truth to assert, that the Bible contains all the essential principles of philosophy. It is more emphatically true, that no other book or books in existence do contain them. If the speculative works of antiquity and modern times were swept into utter oblivion, there is enough in the Bible to rear a system which shall embrace all the symmetry and perfections which the mind is capable of appreciating, or adapted to conceive. There is scarcely a sabbath-school child in the bosom of the church that does not possess more real truth, more genuine philosophy, than can be found in the thirty-five Dialogues of Plato, or within the entire compass of Grecian and Roman speculation. Few of us have realized the philosophical influence of the Bible; and when this fact is suffi-

ciently stamped upon the convictions of our enlightened age, the adoration which has been paid a few names of antiquity will be softened to reverence, and that even will be transferred to a volume, which merits the respect, the gratitude, the homage, of the literary world.

"Nothing is beautiful but truth," is a maxim which the French nation originated, and has ever since continued to despise. It is, however, worthy of the deepest consideration; for it is not possible, with any opposite sentiment, to form or imbibe correct opinions of the poetic art. Poetry is the language of the imagination employed in giving utterance to the sentiments of the heart and the convictions of reason; and if all truth is beautiful, and all permanent and universal convictions of reason are truths, then poetry may be styled the delicate union which the imagination conceives or creates between the beauty of thought and the beauty of expression. Both are necessary to genuine poetry. A fine figure would be marred or concealed by homely or unsuitable apparel; nor can the utmost grace or richness of attire make amends for any considerable deformity of person. When they are perfectly united, it is like clothing the Venus of Praxiteles in Coan gauze.*

Poetry is the first, free, and elegant expression of the intellect, wrapt into enthusiasm or ecstasy, by the varied forms and power of truth. It is the highest effort of the mind. It demands the widest development of the moral and intellectual faculties. It is one of the leading agents in the work of human civilization. It expands, elevates, and purifies the soul. It is the genius of the beautiful giving form to the good and the true; and, to illustrate its value, we might properly adopt the sentiment of a German poet:—

"Only through beauty's morning-gate
Canst thou to knowledge penetrate.
The mind, to face truth's higher glances,
Must swim some time in beauty's trances.
The heavenly harping of the muses,
Whose sweetest trembling through thee rings,
A higher life into thy soul infuses,
And wings it upward to the soul of things."

Poetry, in every age, has been deemed the express gift of the Creator; in its principal features it does very nearly resemble our ideas of inspiration; indeed, it is the imagination which inspiration,

* The ancients called this gauze, "woven wind." It was very transparent and delicate; the very drapery of a poet's dreams.

which the Bible, has most expressly honored ; nor should it seem singular that there have been ages when

" the sacred name
Of prophet and of poet were the same ;"

for not the slightest exception could be taken to this synonyma, if we were certain of its derivation from the double virtue of the existing monuments of the Hebrew muse. The Jewish prophets stand emphatically at the head of impassioned poets ; while the lighter graces of Moses, of Deborah, of David, attest their unsurpassed excellence in the more fanciful species of the art divine.

In the conception and elaboration of poetical productions, the imagination may draw its materials from the past, the present, or the future ; and, hence, poetry may be properly classified into historical, experimental, and rational or prophetic—we say rational *or* prophetic, because both reason and prophecy contemplate the future. Historical poetry includes epic and dramatic compositions ; experimental poetry is based upon the personal experience and feelings of the poet, surrounded and prompted by the thousand influences of the natural, moral, and intellectual world ; rational or prophetic poetry transports us into the world of hope, and sheds the light of the fancy upon truths which human reason has rendered probable, or the divine reason has revealed as certain.*

To the Jews the past, the present, and the future were full of poetic interest. If the poet of inspiration looked backward, his vision was supplied with historical incidents of the most wonderful character. There was a poetic background of national history, which had never been surpassed, never equaled, in the annals of the world ; and if such a retrospect is necessary to the existence, development, and elevation of national or individual genius, the genius of no individual of any nation was ever more bountifully supplied with the most inspiring themes of poetic contemplation. Those themes were also of a pure, innocent, and elevated character, adapted to impart chasteness, morality, and sublimity to the conceptions of an order of poets who were divinely commissioned to record and transmit them. If the poet yielded himself up to the influence of the present, there was never a moment in the history

* Lord Bacon divided poetry into narrative, dramatic and parabolic. This classification is neither natural nor perfect. It does not exhaust the subject ; while it separates parts which ought to be united, and confounds distinctions which ought not to be forgotten. Mr. Montgomery quotes this classification and follows another, which, though more easy and popular, is still less consistent and philosophical.

of that celebrated people when *that* present was not crowded with facts, with incidents, with scenes, sufficient to throw inspiration into the profanest bosom, or perfect rapture into a breast inspired. If the conceptions, the hopes, which futurity furnishes, were the objects of regard, what nation in any age could look forward to a destiny so glorious with all the elements of real or poetic grandeur? If poetry is the elegant expression of sublime or beautiful sentiment, what people, what language, ever possessed such a magazine of thoughts, adapted to awaken the profoundest emotions, and elevate the soul to the summit of its capacity?

The civilization of this people was just of a character to develop and animate the genius of poesy. It is in the season of youth that the imagination carries sway; and it is a singular fact, that poetry has always most flourished in the adolescence of nations—in dark and half-civilized periods. The five great epics of ancient and modern genius; the chief surviving relics of the Athenian, the Roman, and the English stage; the sweetest lyrics, the most splendid rhapsodies, the richest variety of miscellaneous effusions, to which the daily experience of the poet has given birth; the most admirable expositions or poetical anticipations of the future, with the exception, perhaps, of the fourth pastoral of Virgil; in a word, the highest specimens of every species and variety of poetry, have been produced before or long after the people, to whom each specimen pertains, had reached the zenith of their civilization and national glory: as though such stars could not shine, except in the darkness which precedes or follows the brilliancy of day.

If, by these remarks, we are prepared to expect great achievements of the muse of inspiration, a careful examination of the Bible would not disappoint such hopes. Both the matter and the style of Hebrew poetry are of the very highest order. The great facts of Jewish history, and the principles of their unrivaled philosophy, when molded into forms of beauty by the powers of inspired fancy, unite the authenticity and simplicity of truth with all the fascination and splendor of fiction. Compared with the works of pagan antiquity, or the productions of modern genius, how infinitely superior, in their substance or matter, do the poetical books of the Bible appear! The wrath of an offended warrior, the homeward wanderings of a defeated general, the early adventures of an infant colony seeking a resting place in Italy, a false and wretched dogma of the Roman Church, the romantic exploits of knights errant, the successful issue of the celebrated but inglorious crusades, or even the banishment of man from the bowers of Eden, which respectively

furnished Homer, Virgil, Dante, Ariosto, Tasso, and Milton with the substrata of their far-famed epics, are greatly though not equally unworthy of a serious comparison with the subject matter of the great poems of Scripture. Pindar, who, according to Horace,* might wear the lyric crown of Apollo, celebrates only the virtues and successes of the gods and victors of classical Greece; David, with whom the Theban lyrist has been compared, records in loftier strains the infinite attributes of Jehovah, the magnificent grandeur of the universe, and the sublimest characteristics and relations of man. It is related of Sophocles, that, for twenty tragedies, he received the laurel; and he was famed above all competitors. The most popular, the best of his dramas, has survived the dilapidations of time; but what dignity or sublimity of subject does the *Œdipus Tyrannus* possess when compared with the book of Job? The latter transcends the former, as far as the sublime doctrine of an overruling providence exceeds in grandeur the fictitious fortunes of the foundling of Mount Cithæron. The prophetic books of the Bible have no precedent or parallel. The puerile nature of the Sibylline books is sufficiently demonstrated by the few oracular fragments that remain; while the Hebrew prophets survive to illustrate the august character of that most remarkable species of human composition, in which the reason of God is communicated to the world through the imagination of man. In Grecian and Roman verse, though the verse is beautiful, every thing it describes seems human, imperfect, carnal; with the bards of Palestina, all is ethereal, spiritual, glorious. If the former treats of the gods, they appear like men; when the latter record the original or restored condition of man, you would almost mistake it for the character of a seraph. The one is a splendid burlesque on the majesty of God and his creation; the poets of inspiration, on the other hand, extend and illuminate the vision of man, till he conceives (if he does not comprehend) the sublime realities of the present and the future, of substance and spirit, of things temporal and eternal.

The popular method of testing the style of the poets, by selecting and comparing their choicest passages, is unworthy of good sense. It is condemned by the later and improved works on the art of criticism. It would be obviously unjust to estimate the talents of two rival orators by enumerating the happy expressions which they might respectively utter. It cannot be supposed that Matthew Green is to be compared with the author of *Paradise Lost*, or the author of the *Seasons* with the Stratford bard; though a critic can

* Liv., Ode 2.

select more original and glowing passages from the "Spleen" of the former, and more splendid images and descriptions from the "Winter" of the latter, than can be respectively produced from fifty times the amount of verse composed by Milton and Shakespeare. There are individual lines and stanzas in the skeptical deliraments of Queen Mab, which, if the usual critical method were adopted, would elevate Shelley as far above ordinary poets as his own "magic car,"

"Flashing incessant meteors,"

rose above the surface of this earth. Nay, the first canto of this poem is unequaled for descriptive powers; but who thinks of ranking its author with the greatest poets of the English language? It would be useless to demonstrate that it is the general scope, the sustained elevation, of a poem, which imparts to it a character and a name; and it is on this basis that we should determine the poetical merits of the Bible. It cannot be denied, however, that the poets of Scripture furnish the largest proportion and richest variety of beautiful, sublime, and pathetic single passages, which can be found in an equal extent of composition in the entire circle of the world's literature. Longinus decides for the sublimity of the Bible; and Montgomery, the best modern critic of poetry, selects a part of the fifteenth chapter of Exodus as unrivaled for "majesty of fact" in human composition; and remarks, that the events are so graphically given, that it might be said, in the language of Wesley,—

"The Invisible appears in sight,
And God is seen by mortal eye."

He quotes the next chapter as a specimen of the "highest poetry." But the Bible is radiant with such passages. Its prose affords more sublime conceptions than the poetry of the Greeks and Romans. We hesitate not to challenge the literary world to produce a sublimer sentiment than that by which the apostle would urge upon the brethren of Thessaly the duty and safety of spiritual watchfulness:—"For the Lord himself shall descend from heaven with a shout, with the voice of the archangel, and with the trump of God!"*

* An infidel once quoted a line from Homer, and challenged his hearers to produce its equal from the Bible:—

"Jove frown'd, and darken'd half the skies."

A Christian, who was listening, repeated a part of the vision of St. John:—"And I saw a great white throne, and him that sat on it, from whose face the

Some critics of distinction have proposed, as a convenient test of poetical merit, the method of selecting, from writers whom we would compare, those passages which describe the same, or similar objects; and while it is more philosophical than the preceding, it stamps the Bible with evident superiority. How majestic is the description of the passage of the Israelites through the Red Sea!—

“With the blast of thy nostrils the waters were gathered together;
The floods stood upright as a heap;
And the depths were congealed in the heart of the sea!”

Such is the grandeur with which the scene is introduced. The host of Pharaoh pursue into the midst of the sea—the children of Israel are safe on the opposite shore. The triumph of Moses and the song of Miriam continue:—

“Thou didst blow with thy wind:
The sea covered them:
They sank as lead in the mighty waters!”

The sister of Aaron concludes with a strain of victory:—

“Sing ye to the Lord,
For he hath triumphed gloriously:
The horse and his rider hath he thrown into the sea!”

The host of the redeemed throw up a shout to heaven, which makes the hills of Araby tremble; and the obedient waters roll in upon chariots and horsemen, and cover them with everlasting oblivion. We submit to the judgment of scholars, whether the entire circle of the classics can furnish a parallel to this passage.

Thomson, who wears the laurel in descriptive poetry, has paraphrased a part of the ninety-first Psalm in the following celebrated strains:—

“O’er thee the secret shaft
That wastes at midnight, or the undreaded hour
Of noon, flies harmless: and that very voice
Which thunders terror through the guilty heart,
With tongues of seraphs whispers peace to thine.”

Every individual will exclaim, This is beautiful! And very beautiful it is. But let us listen to the original poet himself; or, rather, to a literal prose translation of the mighty monarch-bard:—

earth and the heaven fled away, and there was found no place for them!” If this anecdote is genuine, it is not probable that the contest was lengthy; if it is fictitious, it illustrates equally well the superlative sublimity of the Bible.

"He that dwelleth in the secret place of the Most High
 Shall abide under the shadow of the Almighty !
 He shall cover thee with his feathers ;
 And under his wings shalt thou trust !
 Thou shalt not be afraid for the terror by night,
 Nor for the arrow that flieth by day,
 Nor for the pestilence that walketh in darkness,
 Nor for the destruction that wasteth at noonday !
 Thou shalt tread upon the lion and adder ;
 The young lion and the dragon thou shalt trample under feet !"

What sentiment, what language, what figures are here ! They might be dwelt on for an hour. But we must proceed. The reader can pause at his pleasure.

The duke of Buckingham thus eulogizes the prince of epic poets :—

"Read Homer once, and you can read no more ;
 For all books else appear so mean, so poor,
 Verse will seem prose :—but still persist to read,
 And Homer will be all the books you need !"

This is the language of a professed friend of the Puritan reformation and faith. The Bible itself is not excepted. It was once fashionable thus to depreciate the literature of the Scriptures. The fashion still remains ; and Christians are sometimes seen to bend the knee at this unholy shrine. The exclusive and fulsome praise bestowed, by the ostensible friends of religion, upon the writers of classical paganism, is enough to move the pity of a heathen, or stir the indignation of a seraph. Let us apply the last-named rule of criticism in a brief comparison of Homer with Job. We will select the favorite animal of the Greek poet, the horse ; that which he most admires to describe ; and it shall be the horse of his hero :—

"Then brave Automedon (an honor'd name,
 The second to his lord in love and fame,
 In peace his friend, and partner of the war)
The winged coursers harness'd to the car ;
 Xanthus and Balius, of immortal breed,
Sprung from the wind, and like the wind in speed ;
 Whom the wing'd harpy, swift Podarge, bore,
 By Zephyrus upon the breezy shore :*
 Swift Pedasus was added to their side—

* * * * *

Who, like in strength, in swiftness, and in grace,
A mortal courser, match'd the immortal race."

* The chaste reader will not deplore the license we have taken in slightly altering the sense of this line. Pope follows the original.

Without emphasis, without italics, without versification even, let us now listen to the majesty of the Hebrew poet :—

“Hast thou given the horse strength ?
Hast thou clothed his neck with thunder ?
Canst thou make him afraid as a grasshopper ?
The glory of his nostrils is terrible !
He paweth in the valley, and rejoiceth in his strength !
He goeth on to meet the armed men !
He mocketh at fear, and is not affrighted ;
Neither turneth he back from the sword !
The quiver rattleth against him ;
The glittering spear and the shield !
He swalloweth the ground with fierceness and rage ;
Neither believeth he that it is the sound of the trumpet !
He saith among the trumpets, Ha ! ha !
And he smelleth the battle afar off,
The thunder of the captains and the shouting !”

Let this passage be properly read, and it will make its own comment. The reader should draw the picture in his fancy, as the poet proceeds in his description ; and if he will then produce its equal from the most glowing page of the classics, it is certain it must be derived from some author as yet unknown to the literary world.

The vision of the prophet Obadiah is expressed with remarkable brevity ; but it is of sufficient length to contain the most sublime comparison of the ambition of man and the power of God, ever made :—

“Though thou exalt thyself as the eagle,
And though thou set thy nest among the stars,
Thence will I bring thee down,
Saith the Lord !”

But from this gem we must pass to another ; or rather, to a cluster of gems. We have seen that God, man, and the universe, are the three words of philosophy. They are, also, the greatest, if not the only, subjects of poetry. It would be decisive of the question, if we had space and time to compare the Bible and the classics on these incomparable topics. The recollections of the scholar must spare us this labor. Let the following passages make their own impression ; though the reader will be doing his taste, his sensibilities, a favor, by allowing his mind to rest and reflect upon each line as he passes :—

“The Lord reigneth, let the earth rejoice !
Let the multitude of the isles be glad thereof !

Clouds and darkness are round about him :
 Righteousness and judgment are the habitation of his throne !
 A fire goeth before him
 And burneth up his enemies round about !
 His lightnings enlightened the world :
 The earth saw and trembled !
 The hills melted like wax at the presence of the Lord ;
 At the presence of the Lord of the whole earth !
 The heavens declare his righteousness,
 And the people see his glory !”

Man, his character, position, relations, and office, are beautifully set forth in the following strains :—

“ When I consider thy heavens, the work of thy fingers,
 The moon and the stars which thou hast ordained :
 What is MAN, that thou art mindful of him ?
 And the son of man, that thou visitest him ?
 For thou hast made him a little lower than the angels,
 And hast crowned him with glory and honor !
 Thou madest him to have dominion over the works of thy hands !
 Thou hast put all things under his feet !
 All sheep and oxen, yea, and the beasts of the field,
 The fowl of the air, and the fish of the sea,
 And whatsoever passeth through the paths of the seas !”

The enthusiastic Platonist must confess that his master, in the highest exercise of his brilliant imagination, never conceived such an image as this of the original dignity of man ; nor could Shakespeare, in the highest flights of his fancy, not even in the happiest stroke of Prince Hamlet, where man is very beautifully characterized, attain to such excellence of description. Every thing is said that can be said, and in the most poetical manner, of the pristine glory and honor of man.

The universe, or the world, or nature, is portrayed in the four last chapters of Job. The length of this passage forbids a full quotation ; nor is it easy to make a selection, it is all so uniformly and inexpressibly sublime. Is it in the power of infidelity to scoff at the descriptive excellences and power of these chapters ? Newton, by the invention of his telescope, was himself a telescope to man. Through his industry and genius the universe is greatly expanded to our eye. But, had the whirlwind of God overshadowed him, how could he have replied to the mighty interrogations which the Almighty poured down like a tempest upon Job ! And, then, how beautiful are many of them !

“ Canst thou bind the sweet influence of Pleiades ?
 Or loose the bands of Orion ?
 Canst thou bring forth Mazzaroth in his season ?
 Or canst thou guide Arcturus with his sons ?”

With what transport might the elder Pliny have perused such a passage as the following :—

“ Behold, now, behemoth, which I made with thee !
He eateth grass like an ox.
Lo, now, his strength is in his loins ;
And his force is in the navel of his belly !
He moveth his tail like a cedar ;
His bones are as strong pieces of brass ;
His bones are like bars of iron !
He is the chief of the ways of God :
He that made him can make his sword to approach him
He lieth under the shady trees,
In the covert of the reed and fens ;
The shady trees cover him with their shadow ;
The willows of the brook cover him about.
Behold, he drinketh up a river, and hasteth not :
He trusteth that he can draw up Jordan into his mouth !
He taketh it with his eyes ;
His nose pierceth through snares !”

Aristotle, Cuvier, and Buffon are the great names in the splendid science of zoology ; but the profundity of Aristotle, the industry and genius of Cuvier, and the eloquence of Buffon, combined, could not produce a description so accurate, so perfect, so mighty, as that of the leviathan in the forty-first chapter of Job. What an image do the following verses convey !—

“ By his neesings a light doth shine,
And his eyes are like the eyelids of the morning !
Out of his mouth go burning lamps,
And sparks of fire leap out !
Out of his nostrils goeth smoke,
As out of a seething-pot, or caldron.
His breath kindleth coals,
And a flame goeth out of his mouth !”

But it is time to bring these quotations to a close ; however, as we have given distinct illustrations of the characters of God, the universe, and man, it may not be uninteresting to persons of taste to dwell for a moment on a passage in which the attributes and relations of the three are beautifully and graphically united ; in which the necessities and dependence of man, the grandeur of the world, and the dread omnipotence and tender mercy of God, are blended in a single picture :—

“ In my distress I called upon the Lord,
And cried unto my God :
He heard my voice out of his temple,
And my cry came before him, even into his ears.

Then the earth shook and trembled !
 The foundations of the hills moved, and were shaken,
 Because he was wroth !
 There went up a smoke out of his nostrils ;
 And fire out of his mouth devoured :
 Coals were kindled by it !
 He bowed the heavens and came down :
 And darkness was under his feet !
 And he rode upon a cherub and did fly ;
 Yea, he did fly upon the wings of the wind !
 He made darkness his secret place ;
 His pavilion round about him
 Were dark waters and thick clouds of the skies !
 At the brightness that was before him
 His thick clouds passed, hailstones and coals of fire !
 The Lord also thundered in the heavens,
 And the Highest gave his voice ;—
 Hailstones and coals of fire !
 Yea, he sent out his arrows and scattered them,
 And shot out lightnings and discomfited them.
 Then the channels of waters were seen,
 And the foundations of the world were discovered,
 At thy rebuke, O Lord,—
 At the blast of the breath of thy nostrils !”

Whether the judgment, the emotions, or the taste is most addressed and captivated by this passage, it is difficult to conclude.

From the examples above given, and from what every reader more abundantly knows of the poetical character of the Bible, we are prepared to assert that there is no work of ancient or modern genius to which we can so triumphantly apply the celebrated critical test of Longinus :—“He that hath a competent share of natural and acquired taste may easily distinguish the value of any performance from a bare recital of it. If he finds that it transports not his soul, nor exalts his thoughts ; that it calls not up into his mind ideas more enlarged than what the sounds convey, but, on the contrary, its dignity lessens and declines ; he may conclude, that whatever pierces no deeper than the ear cannot be the true sublime. That, on the other hand, is grand and lofty, which, the more we consider, the greater ideas we conceive of it ; whose force we cannot possibly withstand, which sinks immediately deep, and makes such an impression on the mind as cannot be easily effaced : in a word, we may pronounce that sublime, beautiful, and true, which permanently pleases, and takes generally with all sorts of men.” All this is true of the Bible, and especially of its poetry. Like the prophet’s river, the oftener you sound it, the deeper does it measure. It seizes upon the imagination and sympathies, and

fastens its sentiments upon the soul. It pleases all men, and pleases them always. It indicates more than it expresses. In this it differs from philosophy and history. History recovers the past; philosophy breaks the mystery of the present; but poetry regards the present and the past, and overlooks the future; it leads you down into the deep ravines and quiet dells of truth, from whose shade you discover the star-light of the other world.

But we may advance a step higher in presenting the merits of the poetry of revelation. All accurate readers have been impressed with the unity which prevails in the collection of Psalms; and those who recollect the loose manner in which the rhapsodies of Homer were occasionally thrown out from his prolific imagination, and how they were long afterward collected, arranged, and published as consecutive poems by Pisistratus, will not gratuitously reject the ingenious suggestion of Bishop Horsley, that these splendid effusions constitute a species of heroic tragedy of the most sublime and elevated character. The redemption of man and the destruction of Satan is the plot. The persons represented are God, Christ, Satan, Judas, apostate Jews, heathen persecutors, and apostates of subsequent ages. The attendants are believers, unbelievers, and angels. The scenes, heaven, earth, and hell. The time of the action, from the fall of man to the final overthrow of the apostate faction and the general judgment. The last psalm constitutes the concluding chorus, in which the universe is sublimely challenged to unite in celebrating the victory of heaven over the powers and principalities of hell:—

“Praise God in his sanctuary!
Praise him in the firmament of his power!
Praise him for his mighty acts!
Praise him according to his excellent greatness!
Praise him with the sound of the trumpet!
Praise him with the psaltery and harp!
Praise him with the timbrel and dance!
Praise him with stringed instruments and organs!
Praise him upon the loud cymbals!
Praise him upon the high-sounding cymbals!
Let every thing that hath breath praise the Lord!
Praise ye the Lord!”

What a mighty conception! If the learned divine could demonstrate it by an application of the rules of Aristotle, or Dionysius, or Longinus, or establish it by independent criticism, it would eclipse the entire list of tragic poets from Æschylus to Shakspeare; for, admitting its truth, what dramatic piece does the world afford, comparable with a composition which covers the whole compass

of time, represents the most interesting and awful beings in the universe, and includes all that is grand in scenery, majestic by association, or sublime and beautiful in its glorious and boundless results !

It is sometimes difficult to distinguish epic from dramatic compositions. They equally belong to the class of historical poems ; the one narrates the facts of history as past, the other represents them as present ; and this distinction ought to determine the question so long agitated respecting the book of Job ; which, while it admits short speeches and dialogues almost in the dramatic style, everywhere preserves the distinguishing peculiarity of an epic. This book, however, whether it be regarded as an epic or dramatic piece, is not to be judged by the rules of criticism which the learned have derived from similar compositions in the classical languages. Its author possessed a genius which entitled him to lay down rules for himself. In whatever light it is examined, whether its subject, its style, its morality, or its literary and moral influence be the point of examination, it should be esteemed the noblest, sublimest poetical production ever published to the world. It has no rival in any language. Its hero is the absolute impersonation of the chief of virtues. Its machinery is of the most wonderful nature. Three worlds are visited and exhausted to supply it with characters. The conduct of the piece is most admirable. It opens with the boldest images of distress ; and in this respect resembles the *Iliad*. It progresses with an uninterrupted exhibition of unshaken faith and unsullied virtue ; and differs, in this particular, from all epic pieces of ancient or modern times. It closes with a triumph, in which a rectified heart must experience the most exquisite satisfaction and delight. When we read Homer, we are gratified and amused with the exhaustless resources of his fancy. If we listen to the epic muse of the bard of Mantua, we are impressed with the judgment and dignity of his genius, and the stately majesty of his verse. Dante startles us by the boldness of his descriptions and imagery. Camoens interests every reader with the romantic feats and fortunes of Vasco de Gama. The Deliverance of Jerusalem combines the invention of Homer with the sustained elevation of Virgil, and has probably delighted more individuals than any modern poem. But Milton stands at the head of epic poets, who have flourished since the revival of literature ; he always charms and fascinates the reader ; his genius has kindled more delight, and exercised a better influence upon public morals, happiness, and taste, than any writer in the language. All these names are sacred to the epic muse, and are endeared to the

hearts of all nations. We would not detract a particle of their fame. But, in comparison of the book of Job, that master-piece of inspiration, their productions seem to be absolutely puerile, both in substance and style, in thought and in expression. We have hung with satisfaction, sometimes with rapture, over the pages of these uninspired poets; but a man of keen sensibility could never read a page of the book of Job without experiencing an indescribable emotion of the most elevated and impetuous character. The writer has persisted to read, when chills would rush over his body as if a current of electricity were set in motion. If the book of revelation contained no other poetical performance, just rules of criticism would pronounce it the deposit of the most perfect and sublime monument of genius, and the very paragon of literary taste.

Without exhausting the subject, we have now concluded our remarks. We have endeavored to illustrate the literary character of the Bible. We have spoken of its history, its philosophy, its poetry. We have seen how intimately it is related to the memory, to the reason, to the imagination. Its influence, as a whole, upon the mind cannot be doubtful. We have attempted to show how superior is its history to the great works of classic and modern times. We have regarded its philosophy as the only true theory of man, of God, of the universe; and, by placing it in juxtaposition with the most celebrated and successful uninspired attempt to investigate and expound these wonderful mysteries, we have witnessed the infinity of its triumph over the loftiest efforts and sublimest aspirations of reason. Its poetical pre-eminence has been traced to the history, experience, and future spiritual prospects of the most remarkable of people; the past, the present, and the future have opened their treasures to our recollection and reason; and the poets of antiquity have been eclipsed by the superior splendor of the poetic genius of revelation. Perhaps the writer ought to feel encouraged (which is the sole intent and reward of his labors) that the interest of some portion of his readers, for the literary beauties of the Bible, will be to some extent advanced by the critical observations which it has been his privilege to offer them.

But the subject would be incomplete should we omit addressing to your judgment and experience a few practical inquiries. If the literary character of the Bible be such as we have described it, why is the volume so little studied or read, as a literary production, in our families and social circles? Why are its merits so seldom adverted to in polite or fashionable companies? Why are we

instructed to believe that the Bible was not given us to impart the knowledge, or furnish examples, of literature, of history, of philosophy, of poetry; and taught to associate all that is stern, and stiff, and uninviting, with a book which, in fact, sparkles with the purest, brightest gems, and glows with indescribable lustre? What has occasioned the contempt which our colleges and schools have cast upon the Bible, by expunging it from the list of classical pursuits, and consigning it to the bigotry and malevolence of religionists and unbelievers? Why do not our presidents and professors exercise the independence of character which their stations demand of them, and pay due honor to the Bible, by placing it at the head of the classification of literary studies? What has created this voracious and almost universal appetite for a stale and meaningless fiction, which is at this moment devastating the morals and tastes, and corrupting the hearts, of all classes of society, from the beggar to the prince? Let these questions be answered, and we will engage to trace the origin of the worst of the numerous evils that are now preying upon the world with almost irresistible power: we will display the cause which has bound the people in a mighty spell, and armed them against the word of God; which has repulsed the men of genius of almost every country from the study of that volume, which they were taught to regard as a magazine of penalties and laws; which has cast a gloom over the science of theology, and discouraged many a brilliant intellect from entering into the penetralium of the august temple of divinity, and from becoming the heralds of that gospel which they had not learned to admire; which has clothed the bright form of Christianity itself with sable habiliments, and disfigured the loveliest image, the purest, divinest conception, which the pencil of inspiration has drawn upon the imagination of man; which has robed the angel of mercy in mean apparel, and masked a countenance which beams with unearthly beauty, and spreads a charm on the paths of devotion; which, by repelling the taste, has checked the interest, and thereby sealed the destiny of many a sinner, and thus depopulated the church, disheartened its friends, and perpetuated to this hour the desolations of error in every quarter of the globe!

Here is an evil of wonderful magnitude. It is sweeping like the besom of destruction over the fairest portions of society, over the brightest intellects of the age, over the most interesting and promising field of our labors. The young will not study with seriousness a book which they cannot peruse with pleasure. The students of our seminaries and colleges are instructed to admire the literature of every people, but of those who have given to the world its

most glorious monument. And is it absolutely certain that the ordinary course of theological instruction is adapted to inspire the young mind with zeal for the direct study of the Bible? Do not the majority of divinity students read fifty pages of profane composition to one of the sacred Scriptures? Do they not graduate with a literary rather than a Biblical taste, and ultimately enter the pulpit with an ambition to emulate the elegance and refinement of their classical models, rather than with a soul instinct with the living precepts and wrapt by the holy fervor of the gospel? Whence this affected erudition, this over-wrought and fastidious polish, this chiseled stiffness and molded precision of manner, in the pulpit? If they write, who is the exemplar, Isocrates or St. Peter? If they speak, who is the paragon, Cicero with his faultless symmetry, and finished, flowing periods, or St. Paul with his careless manly energy, with his free and irresistible power?

The remedy of these evils lies with the enlightened friends of revelation. The Bible must be brought into action. It must shape the intellect and inspire the heart of the young. Its treasures must be thrown open to their view. The nature, extent, and value of its history must be engraved upon their memories. They must be taught to sit on the brow of the sacred mount, and listen to the philosophic sages of inspiration, while they expound to their opening faculties the sublime theory of nature. They must be permitted to soar upon the pinions of a heaven-illuminated fancy, and explore the broad limits of the universe, and celebrate with the psalmist the character of the great Creator, and with the prophets pursue the destinies of the deathless spirit, as it rises to the dignity and enters upon the fruition of immortality. Every thing, in a word, should be attempted to render the Bible more engaging to the young. The imagination is the first intellectual power that expands. It is the leading faculty in the development and cultivation of the mind. And, like the needle that vibrates to the pole, it cannot be directed by constraint; but is attracted with unerring certainty when left to the action of its relative power. That relative power is the Bible. It is the pole of the human mind. Remove all disturbing forces, all negative and counter-acting influences, and let the Bible exert its native energy upon the soul, and man will soon return to his true position in the sight of God. Let the ruinous popular fictions of the day be discountenanced by every friend of mankind. If the fancy must be instructed by pictures; if it must be warmed by the touch of beauty; if it demands a peculiar aliment for its sustenance, and clamors for gratification; let those pictures be drawn by the pencil of inspira-

tion; let that touch of beauty be from the hand that planted the flowerets of Eden; let that aliment gently fall upon the soul like manna from the heavens. We need not fear we shall accomplish too much in attempting to throw a livelier interest around the Bible. A modern poet has correctly and beautifully said,—

“As into seven softer hues
Shivers the silvery beam of light,
As all the seven rainbow hues
Run back into the dazzling white;
So round the swimming eyes of youth
With all your glancing witcheries play,
So flow into one bond of truth,
Into one stream of perfect day.”

Can the reader evade the poet's touching appeal? What exertions should be regarded as arduous, in comparison of so happy a result? Let the sabbath school be made a nursery of little plants extracted from the paradise of revelation. Let the smaller gems of the Bible be transferred to the coronet of all juvenile readers. Let the pulpit become radiant with the literature of the Scriptures. Let the halls of education emit the twofold splendor of classic and Biblical learning. Let the fireside, the family circle, be adorned and hallowed by choice recollections of the history, philosophy, and poetry of inspiration. How many youthful, straying feet, might be allured to the noblest walks of piety and duty if the parent only, the mother, would take the pains to display the flowers which inspiration has thrown upon these paths of peace! For himself, the writer will take occasion at this moment to render a tribute of gratitude to divine Providence that a mother was allotted him who loved and appreciated the Bible; who stored his young fancy with such bright images and lovely pictures as a boy could receive. Thus early was he induced to reverence that religion, the record of which he had been taught to admire; and now

“Before thy mystic altar, heavenly Truth,
I kneel in manhood, as I kneel'd in youth;
Thus let me kneel, till this dull form decay,
And life's last shade be brighten'd by thy ray:
Then shall my soul, now lost in clouds below,
Soar without bounds, without consuming, glow!”

And what Christian will not exult, that the age is advancing when the literary character of the Bible shall be appreciated and acknowledged by all? Perhaps the period is dawning, when its literature shall have possessed and subdued the imagination; and the imagination shall have captivated the reason; and the reason of man,

enlightened and controled by the philosophy of revelation, shall guide the fortunes of a redeemed and happy race, till the millennial light shall break upon the world, *and the sun shall no more go down, neither the moon withdraw itself*: when the sorrow which we now feel shall be dispelled by the brightness of that dispensation, *when the Lord shall be our everlasting light, and the days of our mourning shall be ended.* T.

East Greenwich, R. I., June, 1842.

ART. II.—*Exposition of Heb. vi, 4-6.* By REV. SILAS M'KEEN.
Biblical Repository, January, 1842.

PERHAPS no department of study has, in this country, made greater advancement, or risen more in interest, within the last quarter of a century, than that of Biblical criticism. The labors of such men as Stuart, Robinson, Nordheimer, and others, have given an impulse to this branch of theological knowledge as honorable to themselves as it will be beneficial to the cause of Christianity. No harm can result to the cause of religion from the critical and thorough investigation of the Scriptures. On the contrary, when conducted upon the principles of candor and piety, its tendency is highly favorable, both as it interests the public mind in the word of God, and tends to remove error and establish truth. It is a test, therefore, from which no denomination should shrink: we should rather court it. If any are in error, the sooner they are undeceived the better.

There is much in the exposition before us which every unprejudiced reader cannot but approve. The author deserves the credit of frankness and candor. What he concedes, he concedes explicitly, and when he opposes, it is with manly strength and decision. His article is marked with much learning and critical acumen. He directs his inquiries to the three following points:—1. Who are the persons here spoken of; 2. What is supposed concerning them; 3. What is affirmed respecting them, in case the thing supposed should occur. On the first of these points, he maintains, with much force of argument and great depth of research, that the persons described are true Christians. We think his comment upon this part of the passage is the best we have ever seen. His earlier remarks, also, under the second division, are in general unexceptionable. He shows conclusively that by “falling away,” the apostle meant an entire and utter defection from the

high and holy state which he had just described in verses 4, 5. Having conceded these two points, that the persons in question are true Christians, and that their falling away denotes real and final apostasy, we did not see how he could well avoid yielding what appears to us a very natural and correct inference from these premises, namely, that saints do not of necessity, in all cases, persevere. But we soon found that though he had made these concessions, he had no idea of abandoning the main point of attack. He considered his citadel quite as impregnable as before he had surrendered his outposts. And as we differ from him upon this subject, we shall here join issue with him, and proceed to a short, but regular siege. And we will, first, let him speak for himself. "Some have maintained that the supposition of apostasy in this passage, and others like it, implies that the salvation of those concerning whom it is made—of true believers, if these were such*—cannot be certain, even in the purpose of God. But the inference is not legitimate. For how does it appear that God might not from eternity have purposed, that this very warning against falling away should be the effectual means of preventing it? When God said, 'If the heavens above can be measured, and the foundations of the earth searched out beneath, I will also cast off the seed of Israel for all that they have done,' Jer. xxxi, 12, [37,] he did not mean that the thing supposed was possible for *man*, but the contrary. When the apostle said, 'If we, or an angel from heaven, preach any other gospel unto you than that which we have preached, let him be accursed,' it is plainly a case supposed, which was not expected ever to occur. And so when he said to the centurion with respect to those who were about to leave the foundering vessel, 'Except these abide in the ship, ye cannot be saved,' it did not imply that God had not purposed to save them; for he had said before, 'There stood by me this night the angel of God, whose I am, and whom I serve, saying, Fear not, Paul; for thou must be brought before Cesar: and lo, God has given thee all them that sail with thee.' God had determined to save them, and carried that determination into execution by warning them effectually against all measures inconsistent with his purpose. The supposition that the persons described were true believers, militates in no wise against the doctrine of the saints' perseverance. If God has determined that his saints shall persevere unto the end, he has, of course, determined to preserve them from apostasy; and this

* And he says, p. 208, "As thorough an examination as we have been able to make, has convinced us fully that the persons spoken of are true believers in Christ."

not by absolute force, but by means of motives addressed to them as intelligent beings, and made efficacious by the agency of his Spirit on their hearts. God can effectually incline his people to obedience without the least infringement of their free agency. 'I will make,' he says, 'an everlasting covenant with them, that I will not turn away from them, to do them good; but I will put my fear in their hearts, that they shall not depart from me,' Jer. xxxii, 40."

Let us now examine these remarks in their order. "For how does it appear that God might not from eternity have purposed that this very warning against falling away should be the effectual means of preventing it?" 1. If this were so, then it would follow, that up to the time when this passage was written, the apostasy of the saints was possible, and now it is possible to all by whom it has not been read. 2. But is this according to genuine Calvinism? Does the Confession of Faith predicate the final perseverance of the saints upon the effectual influence of the sixth chapter of Hebrews? On the contrary, it declares, chap. xvii, sec. 2, that the perseverance of the saints depends "upon the immutability of the decree of election," &c. And likewise the Larger Catechism, answer to question seventy-nine, says, "True believers, by reason of the unchangeable love of God, and his decree and covenant to give them perseverance, &c., can neither totally nor finally fall away from the state of grace," &c. 3. Our expositor maintains that this text presents so effectual a warning to saints against falling away, as to be the very means of preventing it; and then goes directly on to show, by labored argument and several quotations, that the text contains no intimation that saints can fall away, but, to the contrary, teaches that such an event is impossible! That is, it gives an effectual warning, by teaching that all danger is out of the question! Surely, if this passage has served as an effectual warning heretofore, Mr. M'Keen has exerted himself faithfully to prevent it ever having that effect again.

Let us now look a moment at his quotations. "When God says, If the heavens above can be measured, and the foundations of the earth searched out beneath, I will also cast off the seed of Israel for all that they have done," (Jer. xxxi, 37,) he does not mean that the thing supposed was possible for *mān*, but the contrary. 1. If this place is quoted to prove, directly, the final perseverance of the saints, it is wide of the mark, for the immediate context shows that it is of the *national*, and not of the spiritual Israel, that the prophet is speaking. See verses 35, 36. 2. If it was quoted because he imagined there was any important analogy between it and the

place under consideration, he has committed an egregious oversight. For in order to avail any thing in this respect, he ought to bring a quotation where the *supposed* delinquency of a moral agent implies the impossibility of such delinquency. But that this quotation is utterly foreign from all that, is perfectly evident; indeed, it does not concern the moral conduct of the creature at all, but that of the Creator.

But again: "When the apostle said, 'If we, or an angel from heaven, preach another gospel, let him be accursed,' it is plainly a case supposed, which was not expected to occur." Ay, but to sustain the argument it ought to have been a case that was not *possible* to occur. For the point in debate is not whether saints are "expected" to fall away, but whether they are capable of doing so. But was it impossible that another gospel should be preached? No; for this had already been done. It was the very fact which the apostle was deploring. Was it impossible that Paul should preach another gospel? He informs us it was possible for him to "become a castaway," 1 Cor. ix, 27. And when a castaway, he might preach a spurious gospel. But you must, at least, grant that it were impossible for "an angel from heaven" to preach a spurious gospel. Alas! the sad history of original sin has proved, to our sorrow, that this, too, is possible! Satan is a fallen angel from heaven. Having suffered in that world which is free from temptation, what Mr. M'Keen thinks it is impossible that we should suffer in this world which is full of temptation, he fell, and "kept not his first estate." He came to the abode of primeval innocence, and preached to our first parents a spurious gospel. God had said, "In the day that ye eat of the forbidden fruit, ye shall surely die." This was the true gospel. But Satan preached "another gospel:" he said, "Ye shall not surely die. You cannot fall from that high state of grace which you now enjoy." They ate and fell. And the "angel" that "preached" the impossibility of the catastrophe, and the poor creatures that were seduced from their steadfastness, were "accursed."

Again our expositor continues: "And so when he (Paul) said to the centurion, with respect to those who were about leaving the foundering vessel, 'Except these abide in the ship, ye cannot be saved,' it did not imply that God had not purposed to save them, for he had said before, 'There stood by me this night, the angel of God, whose I am, and whom I serve, saying, Fear not, Paul; thou must be brought before Cesar, and, lo, God hath given thee all them that sail with thee,' Acts xxvii, 24, 31." We are not positive that we understand the author of the Exposition in the

whole of his application of these texts. But if we get his meaning he certainly has not studied them with his usual discrimination. The ship's company were composed of two classes, the "shipmen" and the "soldiers." Mr. M'Keen speaks of the former, "those who were about leaving the foundering vessel." And if he could show that they were deterred from the execution of that design by the admonition of the apostle, his theory of the effectual warning of Christians, who are tempted to leave the old ship Zion, would receive a fine illustration. But, unfortunately for him, the warning was not directed to this portion of the company, but to the soldiers, who had no design of leaving. And the shipmen were not hindered from their purpose of abandoning the ship by being warned of Paul, but because the soldiers had cut away their boat. That is, they were not hindered by the power of motives, but by physical necessity.

As to the observations intervening between this and the final quotation, we will just simplify their phraseology a little, and then let them speak for themselves:—"If God has determined [decreed] that his saints shall persevere unto the end, he has, of course, determined [decreed] to preserve them from apostasy; and this not by absolute [physical] force, but by means of motives addressed to them as intelligent beings, and made efficacious [irresistible] by the agency of his Spirit on their hearts. God can effectually [irresistibly] incline his people to obedience without the least infringement of their free agency." That is, God makes man a locomotive engine, and propels him along the cast-iron track of his destiny, from which he cannot turn an inch to the right hand or left; and yet man is a perfectly free moral agent! *Credito qui possit.*

In proof, however, that God does "effectually incline" his people, so as to preclude the possibility of their falling away, Jer. xxxii, 40 is brought into requisition: "I will make an everlasting covenant with them, that I will not turn away from them, to do them good; but I will put my fear in their hearts, that they shall not depart from me." An equally literal rendering of the original phrase לֹא-יִסְּחוּ סִדְרִי מֵעַדְלִי would be, *that they may not, or lest they should depart from me*; which divests the passage from all appearance of absoluteness, and leaves the persons to whom it relates in the undoubted possession of the power of choice. It should be observed, however, of this text, as of the other quoted from Jeremiah, that it is spoken of the Israelites in their national capacity. Jehovah was about to bring upon them the seventy years' captivity, an awful calamity, one which would afterward affect them with

such a dread of the divine judgments, that for a long time, at least, they would not depart from the Lord. But that the covenant did not preclude, unconditionally, their subsequent defection and consequent abandonment, is evident from the present deplorable condition of the Jews, and from what it has been for some two thousand years. The covenant remains unaltered. God has not failed to fulfil on his part: he has not departed from them; but they, in the exercise, I should rather say the abuse, of their free moral agency, have departed from him, and have rejected the counsel of God against themselves.

We wish now to state, briefly, some of the reasons why we think the passage does imply the possible forfeiture of salvation on the part of the saints, and we have done.

1. The simple literal rendering of the first clause of the sixth verse, *και παραπεσοντας*, and have fallen away; the "if" and the "shall" being supplied by the translators, as Mr. M'Keen freely acknowledges. Now take these words in connection with the context: those who have once been enlightened, and have tasted the heavenly gift, &c., and have fallen away; and what is the first simple impression made upon the mind of a child, or any unprejudiced person? Why, that people can be enlightened, can taste of the heavenly gift, and can fall away. And the last idea would be as distinctly and as strongly impressed as either of the others, and for this good reason, that it is just as distinctly and strongly stated. And we have just as much ground to infer from this passage that it is impossible for a sinner to be enlightened, and to taste the heavenly gift, as Mr. M'Keen has to infer that when he has tasted, it is impossible for him to fall away.

2. The context. The seventh and eighth verses are evidently designed as an illustration of the passage in question. And if the interpretation which we advocate, be correct, the illustration is apposite and vivid. Christians who have once been enlightened, and tasted the heavenly gift, and have been made partakers of the Holy Ghost, are very aptly represented by the earth which has been moistened and fertilized by the genial showers of spring, and which is expected to "bring forth herbs meet for those by whom it is dressed." But when, instead of this, it produces nothing but briars and thorns, is nigh unto cursing, and has, for its end, to be burned, it becomes a striking emblem of the unfaithful disciple who neglects to improve the grace that is given him, sins against God, and falls away into awful apostasy and final perdition. But how is this figure applicable to Christians, if they cannot fall away? In that case, the illustration and the thing illustrated, would form

a perfect contrast. See again, verses 9-12, "But, beloved, we are persuaded better things of you, and things that accompany salvation," &c. Better things than what? Why, better than that you should fall away. Why so? Because God has decreed that if once in grace, always in grace? No; but because we believe you do, and will adhere to your "labor of love," your "diligence," your "faith" and "hope, unto the end." That is, Paul was persuaded they would be saved, not because they could not fall away, but because he expected they would, by divine aid, keep the conditions of salvation "unto the end."

3. The scope of the writer. And here some observations of our expositor, though made with a different view, are very much to our purpose. He says, (p. 222,) "In this very epistle, [to the Hebrews,] which was undeniably addressed to supposed Christians, we find numerous examples, [that is, of warnings against apostasy.] Indeed, to warn his brethren against apostasy, and excite them to go forward in the divine life, appears to have been the apostle's main design. 'How shall we escape,' he says, 'if we neglect so great salvation?' 'Let us labor, therefore, to enter into rest, lest any man fall after the same example of unbelief.' 'If we sin willfully after we have received the knowledge of the truth, there remaineth no more sacrifice for sin; but a certain fearful looking for of judgment, and fiery indignation which shall devour the adversaries.'" And these remarks of Mr. M'Keen apply with especial force to the whole of the sixth chapter. Read it carefully, and you will find it was the constant aim of the writer "to warn his brethren against apostasy; and excite them to go forward in the divine life." Well, now, to tell them, in this connection, that there was a possibility of falling away, and that, too, to an extent that their recovery would be hopeless, was perfectly consonant with his design, and chimed admirably with all the parts of the exhortation. But to stop short in the midst of this animated appeal, and inform them that there was no such thing as a final moral lapse on the part of Christians, were not only aside from his object, but in flat opposition to it; and directly calculated to frustrate his whole purpose. And how it was possible for the author of the Exposition to advocate this view on the same page where he declares it was Paul's design to warn his brethren against apostasy, we cannot, for our life, explain. And yet, as we have seen, he does declare this, and then enters immediately into a labored argument to prove that it would be as impossible for a saint to fall away, as for "man" to measure the heavens above, or to search out the foundations of the earth beneath!

4. The interpretation which we oppose gives the whole passage and its context a vain and trifling air, entirely incongruous with the character of an inspired apostle. For, according to this, he first wastes his own time, and that of the brethren to whom he wrote, in describing a character which never did, and never can exist, in heaven, earth, or hell; namely, an apostate Christian. Next he goes on to instruct them gravely in the final destiny of this fallen phantom: "It is impossible to renew him to repentance." Having arrived at this point, we should assuredly suppose that the inspired author had dwelt long enough upon nonentities, and that now he would leave the spectre to his fate. But, behold, he takes a wider range in the land of shadows: it is yet necessary to vindicate the justice of that fate; it is impossible to renew him to repentance, "seeing he crucifies to himself the Son of God afresh, and puts him to an open shame." Well, certainly the pen of inspiration will not go to greater extremities in trifling. Having been employed so long upon things without "a local habitation or a name," it will now, at least, return to sober realities. Not at all. The important subject of the justice of the fate of the phantom must now be illustrated: "For the earth which drinketh in the rain," &c., verses 7, 8. This done, the apostle closes up the whole with an extended exhortation to prevent the brethren from becoming precisely what he had described, and what they could not become to save a universe! And thus nearly a whole chapter is devoted to a subject that has neither meaning nor moral. But how does all this accord with the declaration that "*all* Scripture is profitable for doctrine, for reproof, for correction, and for instruction in righteousness?"

5. Finally, the principle of interpretation employed upon this passage tends not only to destroy confidence in the word of God, but annihilates its authority. For if the circumstance of *supposing* the delinquency of a moral agent in this place implies that such delinquency is impossible; (the principle distinctly maintained by the Exposition on page 222;) and that, hence, the threatenings denounced against it are nugatory; it follows that the same circumstance would imply the same thing in every other place. That is, all *supposed* delinquencies are impossibilities, and the threatenings denounced against them are mere empty words. So, when Isaiah says to his countrymen, "If ye refuse and rebel, ye shall be devoured by the sword," he means they could neither be guilty of the crime, nor suffer the penalty. "If thou forsake him, he will cast thee off for ever," signifies it is impossible for thee to forsake God, and it is impossible that he should cast thee off for

ever. And this reasoning is not confined in its application to passages commencing with the conditional *if*. This is only one mode, out of many, for expressing suppositive propositions. But the reasoning applies with equal force to every passage where *supposed* delinquencies, however expressed, are denounced. For example : "Every one that heareth these words of mine, and doeth them not, shall be likened unto a foolish man who built his house upon the sand, &c., and it fell, and great was the fall of it." "He that believeth not shall be damned." "Whosoever shall say to his brother, Thou fool, is in danger of hell fire." Now all these faults are *supposed* ; and, consequently, according to the doctrine set up in the Exposition, they never can occur, and, therefore, never can be punished. No man can fail to believe. No man can be damned. Is this wholesome doctrine ? Is this correct interpretation ? Yet it is the legitimate result of the premises laid down in the Exposition. And this result assumes a still more serious character when we consider to how large a portion of the Scriptures it extends. The truth is, the Bible, as a whole, is a code of moral laws. And these laws do, and must, from the very nature of things, contemplate *supposed* cases of delinquency. This is the case with all laws, human and divine. Open any statute book in our country, and you will find it so. Such are the laws of all nations, excepting only the *ex post facto* laws of tyrants. Hence, all the commandments and precepts of the Bible involve, directly or indirectly, cases of *supposed* moral delinquency. Therefore, this strange principle of exegesis, which says that all such delinquencies are impossible ; and that, hence, the penalties annexed will never be inflicted, jeopardizes the truth of the Bible as a whole. It makes that sacred book a volume of nullities. It drives its presumptuous ploughshare under the very foundations of the moral government of God. Apply this principle to the civil code, and you reduce the whole to a dead letter in an instant. Let it be avowed before an enlightened court by an advocate, and it would be taken as evidence of his insanity. That the principle will not hold, when applied to the Bible, might be shown directly by referring to innumerable cases recorded. Instance those of our first parents, Lot's wife, Pharaoh, and Achan : for in all these cases the *supposed* delinquencies actually occurred, and the threatened penalties were executed.

We have now stated some of our reasons for adopting the Arminian construction of this passage, and some of the absurdities that result from that given in the Exposition. And now if the author still think, that to save the doctrine of the inevitable perse-

verance of the saints, is of sufficient importance to justify him in doing violence to the connection in which the passage is found, and to the acknowledged scope of the writer, and in assuming principles unfounded in themselves, and which, in their consequences, nullify the meaning of large portions of Scripture, and undermine the authority of the divine law, why, he must be allowed his opinion; but it is doubtful whether the world will be convinced of its soundness, or its wholesome tendency. R.

ART. III.—*Education in the Methodist Church.*

THE charge has been repeatedly brought against the Methodists, that they are ignorant, both in the ministry and in the laity. This imputation has been indignantly repelled; and, to show its falsity, appeals have been made to distinguished names, which are acknowledged to adorn the annals of science, both sacred and secular. It is probable, however, that the Christian spirit has been as little manifested in the temper with which the charge has been met, as in the motives with which it has been made. It requires but a glance to see that the reply has not met the imputation, and that the imputation itself is not worthy of a reply.

It is very true, that the doctrines which were defended and illustrated by the varied learning of Wesley, and the profound theological erudition of Watson, are daily extending their sway, commending themselves to the favor of all judicious divines, and greatly modifying, if not entirely uprooting, systems of theology that had grown venerable long before these men exposed their unsoundness. It is very true, that Biblical literature has been greatly enriched by the extensive philological acquirements of Clarke and Benson. It is very true, that Charles Wesley, Thomas Olivers, and other preachers, their associates and successors, have left such evidences of poetical genius, that many of their devotional poems, could they be considered apart from their religious associations, would be ranked among the most spirited lyrics in the English tongue. It is very true, that Fisk, Emory, Ruter, and others who might be named, have both adorned and enriched the literature of their language. And it is equally true, that a list, by no means diminutive, might be named, of men now living, of whose reputation for sound scholarship, neither their church nor their country has any cause to be ashamed.

But while we consider these claims to a literary reputation worthy of the highest respect, we freely admit that the Methodists, as a people, are, and have ever been, comparatively unlearned in human science. The multitudes who swell the number in their communion have, for the most part, been gathered in from the humbler walks of life, from that grade of society which enjoys but few of the advantages of cultivation, and feels but little of the pride of birth and worldly importance. Their ministry have generally been selected from the same ranks, and have been aided only by the same imperfect means. Their attention has been engrossed by subjects but indirectly connected with those branches of learning which are deemed essential to eminent scholarship, and they have not been able, therefore, to overtake the progress of general science and refined literature. No array of eminent names, which we are able to present, can fully meet the imputation, that the Methodist Church, as a body, is unlearned.

But we proceed to remark that the imputation is not worthy of a reply. Both those who make this charge, and those who impatiently repel it, have mistaken the spirit and design of Methodism. To rival other churches, is no part of the object for which this church has been raised up. To acquire and sustain a *reputation*, is no part of that object. To promote the progress of science and literature, is no part of that object. When the Wesleys and Whitefield visited the mines of Kingswood and Cornwall, it was not to inspect the geological structure of the earth, nor to search for mineral specimens to adorn their cabinets: but they saw, beneath the filthy and haggard exterior of the miner, a gem more precious than any that sparkles in the caverns of earth, and they renounced their ease, and periled their lives, that they might rescue this treasure from the pollutions that obscured it, and present it purified, a diamond of the first water, to glow for ever in the diadem of Christ. When the hardy itinerant plunges into the frontier forest, and limits his circuit only by the farthest shanty of the settler, it is not that he may explore the wild beauties of nature; it is not that he may be the first to lay before the world the scientific riches of the wilderness; it is not that he may gratify an idle reader, and acquire for himself an evanescent name by a published narrative of romantic adventures. No, it is not for these. But the backwoodsman has gone into the forest, and the panther is scarcely more keen-scented for his blood than the Methodist preacher is for his soul. In one word, the design for which this church has been raised up is, to "spread Scriptural holiness over the earth." If, in the prosecution of this purpose, unlearned men

are needed in any particular section, it is the policy of Methodism to employ unlearned men. If, in another section, learned men are needed, it is the policy of Methodism to employ learned men. But the circumstance of their being learned or unlearned, gives them no preference in the eye of the church, only as the one is best adapted in this section, and the other in that, to carry forward the great work of Scriptural holiness. If, in the pursuit of this object, the Methodist Church has come to be, in any sense, the rival of other churches, this is only an accidental, and, perhaps, an unfortunate circumstance. If she has, by any means, acquired a reputation for some degree of learning and influence, this, also, is only an accidental circumstance, and possibly this, too, may be unfortunate. But it would be most unfortunate of all, if the zeal of the church, in defending her *character*, should divert her attention from the great work which alone has given her a character. The rescue of lost men from the thralldom of sin is her appropriate vocation. Her zeal and success in this cause, and not her learning or her want of learning, have given her a name; and now he that comes to us with the charge that our church is characterized by ignorance, manifests, at least, as little acquaintance with the real objects of our pursuits as we do with those things which he supposes ought to characterize a church.

While some have seemed to think that the appropriate business of a church is, to settle the floating speculations of metaphysics and theology, Methodists have always deemed it their vocation to use efficient means for bringing the world to a knowledge of God. They have felt it incumbent to adapt their instrumentalities to the circumstances of those for whose salvation they labor. While, therefore, they have, in some parts of the work, considered human learning comparatively unimportant, they have, nevertheless, endeavored to keep pace with the advancement of the times, at least so far as to be able to prosecute their holy calling in all places, and among all ranks of society. In many parts knowledge is extensively cultivated, but righteousness does not necessarily spring up as the result. The learned and the refined live in the practice of sin, and in these circles, therefore, our church finds a field of labor.

It is for this reason that so vigorous efforts have, within a few years, been made to promote the cause of education in the church. Institutions of various grades have been established, and efforts have been made to enlist the co-operation of the people in their support. The old objection, that a few terms in school will destroy the piety of a young man and fill him with pride, is dying away

before the evidence which facts are believed to present, that fewer, comparatively, lose their piety in school than in other situations; while the manifest favor with which Heaven has regarded these institutions has created the belief, now quite general, that they are among the most efficient means for the conversion of the young. Nowhere have revivals of religion been more frequent, nowhere more general, nowhere have conversions been more sound, than in the literary institutions connected with the Methodist Church; and, on the other hand, we believe that nowhere have religious declensions been less frequent than in the same schools. From a connection with these institutions for nearly ten years, we believe that it is quite within the bounds of truth to say, that the ratio of young persons who are there brought to a saving knowledge of God, to those who there turn back and abandon his service, is not less than as *fifty* to *one*—a ratio greater by one half, we believe, than will be found in most other circumstances of life. These facts, if known, would remove the scruples of many who now hesitate to afford their support to the cause of education, lest they should be found doing ill-service to piety; and would soon place our institutions above embarrassment, and crowd their halls with the young, seekers alike of science and religion.

But an important inquiry arises, to which we propose to devote attention. What mode of education is best adapted to the circumstances and wants of the Methodist Church? The question is restricted to this church, with special reference to the great design for which, as we have just said, Providence has raised it up. This design is a practical one. The whole genius of Methodism is militant; not with carnal weapons, but with the sword of the Spirit. Its design is to act upon society in high places and in low; to enforce divine truth upon the consciences of men. An education that shall accomplish effectually these purposes, must have regard to the peculiarities of the times in which we live.

The characteristics of the human mind have varied in different periods of the world. In early ages, before the fame of great exploits could be perpetuated by historical records, the desire for immortality exhibited itself in gigantic works of art. Pyramids and other monuments of Cyclopean architecture have come down to us as the characteristics of those early ages. When, at a subsequent time, the genius of poets and historians was seen to be a more stable reliance, a passion for military glory arose, and the immortal achievements of Grecian and Roman arms were the result. In modern times, a new impulse has been given to the human mind. The great facilities which recent inventions of art

afford for the diffusion of intelligence, have aroused a general attention to the rights and capabilities of our nature. Christianity has appeared, and brought the realities of a future life so vividly to view, that the distinctions of rank and fortune, anciently so dazzling, are beginning to lose the power of their enchantment. In the science of government a new principle has sprung up, which is changing the civil aspect of the world. That all men possess equal and inalienable rights, is a principle pregnant with the most important interests to mankind. Every government that is truly liberal must rest on this basis; but every one that is not so, is in danger the moment this principle finds access to the minds of the people. It is consonant with the innate feelings of the human heart, and it is sanctioned by the divine doctrines of Christianity. It is professedly the foundation of our civil policy; it is recognized by all the more liberal governments of the earth; and it is beginning to be felt even in the strong holds of despotism. The striking peculiarities of the present age are owing chiefly to the silent but powerful operation of the principle of civil and religious liberty. Not the surface of society only has been affected by it, but it has gone down to the deep foundations of the social structure; and although many of its effects are open and visible, yet, by a strong unseen influence, it is working revolutions in the political and moral systems of the world, which must, at no very distant period, transform the whole aspect of human governments.

We hear much of the agitation and radicalism of our times, and the opinion is, perhaps, prevalent, that ultraism is the great characteristic of this age. But these extravagances should be regarded rather as the result of principles deep-working in the heart of society. They do not characterize the age. Is the mere dribble of lava that hisses down the mountain side the characteristic of Etna? Equally absurd is it to suppose that the superficial agitations which terrify the timid, are going to stamp upon this age the features that will mark it in the eye of posterity. Deep central fires are glowing unseen, but unsmothered; and what wonder if they sometimes stream out in erratic flashes through society, hissing as they go?

But though these extravagances are only of secondary moment, yet they cannot be disregarded. They disturb the minds of men; they convulse communities; they threaten, and they may destroy the fairest model of civil government which the world has ever known. At the least, they divert the minds of men from those personal applications of divine truth, which it is the object of our holy religion to enforce. They unsettle the principles of men, and

hurry them away into the wildest speculations. In such a disturbed state of society, splendid geniuses may arise, but liberty, and morality, and all things are insecure.

Such is the character of the times to which our system of education must be adapted.

This system should afford sedatives, and not stimulants, to human passion. The world itself is a school of excitement; seminaries and colleges should be schools of calm and salutary discipline. An opinion, the offspring of the social perturbations of the day, has been sent forth, requiring some of the sterner branches of a liberal education to be abandoned, on the ground that they demand two or three years of the student's time to be spent in dry study, and afford but a meagre amount of knowledge as a recompense. If there were no other reason for retaining the proscribed studies, their influence in counteracting the tendencies of the age to extravagance would be sufficient. Stability of mind is the effect of discipline, dry it may be, but still productive of the most useful and permanent results. If the time has ever been when two years given to such studies as would merely augment the student's knowledge, were a better preparation for practical life than four years devoted to branches which would discipline and strengthen the intellectual powers, although the amount of knowledge gained might be comparatively small, certainly that time is not in our age. The philosophy of Bacon is called "a philosophy of fruit;" but the passion for fruit has been stimulated to such a degree, that now we are unable to wait for it to grow to maturity. We pluck it unripe, and demand another crop before the bud has had time to expand. At no period has the maxim, "Learn to labor and to wait," been more appropriate than at the present. Intellectual discipline, to be useful, must be sound. But sound intellectual discipline is never gained when the student constantly feels that he must hasten through his studies, because the world is waiting impatiently for him to commence his labors!

There is no danger in our country that close application to the severer branches of study will draw off the mind from the affairs of real life, and fill it with the exclusive love of books and the abstractions of science. All things around us are too instinct with life and stir to allow such a result.

In these remarks on the cultivation of the intellect, we have not forgotten that the object of an education is to fit men for active duties in the midst of an active world. The evils of ultraism are not to be remedied by opposing a dead resistance to the rush of human passions. He that is able to guide, will do more toward

allaying, than the man who can only resist. An education suited to these times should give expansion to the mind, maturity to the judgment, and a manly stability to the whole character.

The cultivation of the moral nature of man demands our notice. Our literary institutions are designed to pay no less regard to this department of education than to that of the intellect. We have been fully aware that there is more meaning in the maxim of the great philosopher than he himself conceived—"Knowledge is power;" but there is a kind of knowledge which, although to the natural man it is nothing but foolishness, yet to him who receives it, is more powerful for self-control, more powerful for elevating and beautifying the character, more powerful for salutary influence upon society, than the largest acquaintance with the phenomena of science. Alexander possessed a military power which subdued the world; but he fell an easy victim to his own depravity. Lord Bacon possessed an intellectual power which has gained conquests over the world more magnificent than those of the Macedonian; but he, too, sunk a pitiful slave to the vices of his own heart. To one source of power neither the conqueror nor the philosopher applied; and, in the absence of this, they stand before the world dazzling beacons, only to show how closely human greatness may be wedded to moral degradation. But a small part of the great lesson of self-knowledge is learned when the student has become acquainted with the capabilities of his intellect. When this alone is cultivated, there may be a dazzling display of genius, but there is no security that it will be employed for the benefit of the world. France, for the last half century, has exhibited a greater number of strong and brilliant minds than any other nation, and has done more for the advancement of science than any other. And yet France, within the same period, has been perpetually seething with internal discord. She has abolished from her language every term which indicated distinction of rank in society; she has thrown off every consideration of morality and religion, which could, in the least, restrain the madness of unbridled passions; she has formally, and by decree of her national assembly, pronounced death an eternal sleep, abolished the worship of the God of heaven, and paid public adoration to an unchaste opera-dancer, whom she deified as the "Goddess of Reason." All this mockery was enacted in the very blaze of science and intellectual refinement, as if to teach the world how impotent for good is human wisdom, when divorced from the reverence and love of God.

Apparently there is no danger that scenes so revolting will be transacted in this nation. But the only reason we have for a better

hope is, that here the restraints of morality and religion are felt. Should these fall into neglect, science will afford but a feeble assurance against the triumph of discord and cruelty. When there is just that degree of intellectual cultivation which begets in each individual self-confidence, what security have we against anarchy, unless there is, also, that degree of moral cultivation which will, at the same time, beget subordination?

The permanency of our national liberties, the purity of the church and her usefulness, and the advancement of mankind in the pursuit of an exalted happiness, all are promoted by the same means—the practical inculcation of morality and religion.

In a condition of things such as this world presents, where the passions of men are ever ready to blaze out into crime, where the principles of truth are obscure, and the laws of rectitude may be transgressed with apparent impunity, it is well that there is in the nature of man one conservative power. Conscience asserts a claim to supremacy, and, with authority, lifts a warning against the impulses of unsanctified propensities. The correct education of the conscience should be a first consideration in every system of mental discipline. This is the avenue through which divine truth finds access to the mind. Impulses to right action may sometimes be given through the medium of the passions; but such impulses can be but momentary, and of uncertain tendency. Passion soon subsides, or conflicting passions arise; and the just purpose that had been formed, and perhaps partially executed, is abandoned. But when truth has secured for itself an abode in the moral citadel of the soul, at once the hope springs up and prevails, that there will be a consistent prosecution of worthy objects, a steady resistance of every unholy demand of passion and every unjust claim of self-interest. When all the charms of an enticing world, and all the promptings of a greedy selfishness, and all the clamors of disturbed passions, are sternly disregarded, through reverence to the silent whispers of the inward monitor; when the slightest indication of duty is heeded with the same attention as would be the audible voice of God, and the feeblest purpose of rectitude is fostered as a germ implanted by a celestial hand; and when the noble resolution of self-denial and of devotion to the heaven-born objects of the Christian faith is sustained and carried on, unwavering alike through the glitter of prosperity and the gloom of adversity—then are the lofty purposes of a moral education accomplished. Enlightened conscience then sways a majestic control, and, unlike the impulses of passion, which come and go as the fitful gusts of the storm, she prompts, by a

permanent and a steady impulse, to the highest resolves and the noblest labors. There is no prior obligation bearing upon those who have influence over expanding minds, than to inculcate a sacred regard for the decisions of a well-instructed conscience. And there is no more stable security to the church for the efficient usefulness of her members, than such a reverence for the voice of this inward moral dictator.

There is but one text-book for the education of man's moral nature. Other books may be consulted, as the classical or scientific student consults his books of reference ; but the Bible alone teaches with authority. We are not at all disposed to argue here the propriety of introducing this book into our literary institutions. If there are any who think that learning and religion have no connection, with them it may be a question for argument. But it is a thing too strange for supposition, that a church, whose only object is to spread Scriptural holiness over the earth, should be found really debating the propriety of such a measure. Our prosperity, thus far, has been the result of a lively faith in the doctrines of that sacred book. Our humblest members have drunk in with rapture its holy comforts. Our preachers, though children in the wisdom of this world, have been deeply versed in the book of God, and largely imbued with its sacred spirit. The question appropriate for our consideration is not, should the Bible be introduced as a book of study ? but in what manner may the Bible be studied so as best to promote the great objects of the church ? It is not our purpose to enter into a discussion of this question, or to propose any specific plan for the accomplishment of the object designed. Whatever plan may be adopted, it will fail of success unless it shall result in begetting a deep reverence for the authority and precepts of the sacred oracles. To degrade them to a level with the common text-books of science, would be as destructive of our purposes, as it would be irreverent toward their divine Author. There is no more certain precursor of contempt for the Bible than the opinion that its individual doctrines may be considered apart from the general evidences which authenticate the whole, and each one accepted or rejected, to suit the caprice of him who may choose to speculate upon them. When once the truth is established, that this book is the word of God, no efforts of a disobedient will can invalidate the least of its specific precepts, however offensive may be their stern requisitions.

There is another view in which the Scriptures may be regarded, which, although coupled with great apparent reverence for their authority, is, nevertheless, equally destructive of their efficacy in

accomplishing the objects for which the Methodist Church is laboring. An opinion has prevailed to some extent, nearly throughout the history of Christianity, and has recently found strenuous advocates in high places, both in England and in America—an opinion which places all the vitality of religion in the careful compliance with certain external and imposing conditions. That the lineage of the priesthood can be traced back in unbroken succession to the apostles, is deemed by some a more efficient chain of communication with the divine Redeemer than that a present and living faith is permitted to penetrate the veil of the mercy seat. That the sacred ordinances are administered by one on whose head thrice-consecrated hands have never been imposed, is deemed a greater impiety than that these holy duties are performed by one whose heart is polluted by infidelity, depravity, and crime. If such opinions correctly express the doctrines of the Bible, then, indeed, Methodists are justly exposed to the charge of ignorance. It is all the same that God has not spoken at all, or that he has spoken and meant nothing. But we are the antipodes to either belief. We hold the Bible to be that word which is quick and powerful, which appeals to the conscience, which discerns the thoughts and intents of the heart. We believe, that in it life and immortality are brought to light; and in commending it as a text-book to the young, we would inculcate an ardent love for its vital doctrines, and a profound reverence for it as the only and the infallible source of truth. To repose an implicit faith in the word of God, is the lesson that most needs to be impressed upon the young.

There is, therefore, one recipient of truth within, and one source of truth without—a conscience and a Bible. The former, without the latter, is but an erring guide; the latter, without the former, is but a lifeless letter. But when both mingle their mutual light and influence, hope dawns upon the world.

A conscience and a Bible! On all the pathways of human life, so thickly crowded with dangers and with deaths, they shed a cheering illumination, they point out a highway of peace and safety. And when the gloom of the grave gathers in as if for one unending night, they lift up a veil, and disclose, as the abode of the redeemed, a realm of more enchanting loveliness than poet ever fabled the “gardens of the Hesperides, beyond the bright ocean.” Philosophy, centuries ago, conceived the lofty idea of a code of morals which would elevate mankind from the degradation of vice and error. She imagined a position of dignity, to which she believed our race might be exalted, and for ages she toiled to effect

her noble object. It was a useless labor ; man was degraded still. But religion descended from the skies, and with a conscience and a Bible for her instrumentalities, reached down to the deepest fallen, and raised them up to the divine privilege of coheirship, in nature and in glory, with the Son of God—an elevation to which the loftiest conceptions of philosophy had never soared.

A conscience and a Bible ! The nations of Christendom have felt their life-giving power, and started up in beauty from the gloom of spiritual night. The spell which chained the pagan world in moral and intellectual thralldom has been dissolved ; and over all the broad regions where society has exhibited only the ghastly lineaments of death, pulsations of life are seen, and there is the incipient stir of preparation for the joyful and universal jubilee of man.

When the conscience and the Bible shall have fully assumed their authority over mankind, then will the objects of a moral education, and, at the same time, the objects of the Methodist Church, be accomplished ; and then may we hail all churches as coworkers with us in spreading Scriptural holiness over the earth.

Gouverneur, N. Y., May, 1842.

ART. IV.—*Literature of the Arabs.* By J. C. L. SIMONDE DE SISMONDI.

(Translated from the French for the Methodist Quarterly Review.)

THE West was plunged in barbarity ; its population and its wealth had disappeared ; its inhabitants, scattered over vast countries, were unceasingly occupied in wrestling with the vicissitudes of their lot—the invasions of barbarians, intestine wars, and feudal tyranny. Even their lives, continually menaced by famine or the sword, were preserved with difficulty ; and in this state of incessant violence or fear there remained to them no leisure for mental enjoyment. Eloquence was without an object ; poetry was unknown ; and philosophy was interdicted as a revolt against religion. Language itself was destroyed. Barbarous and provincial dialects had supplanted that elegant Latin which had so long constituted the bond of the western nations, and preserved to them so many treasures of thought and of taste. But at this epoch a new nation, which by its conquests and its fanaticism had contributed more than any other to destroy the worship of science and letters, strengthened in its empire, in its turn cultivated the field of lite-

ration. The Arabian, master of a great part of the East—of the country of the ancient Magi and the Chaldeans, whence the germs of knowledge had been spread over the earth; of fertile Egypt, long the depository of human sciences; of Asia Minor, where poetry, taste, and the fine arts had developed themselves; of burning Africa, the country of impetuous eloquence and the most subtle intellect—the Arabian seemed to unite the advantages of all the countries which had been subjected to his sway. He had obtained by arms successes which might satiate the most unmeasured ambition; the extremities of the East, with those of Africa, were under the dominion of the califs. Immense riches had been the fruit of their conquests; and a luxury without bounds had developed itself among the Arabians—formerly rude and savage, but fallen into effeminacy after subduing the happiest countries of the universe, over which voluptuousness had exercised in all time its most absolute empire. To all the enjoyments which human industry, excited by immense riches, can procure; to all that can flatter the senses and intoxicate the life, the Arabs wished to join all the pleasures of the mind, the flower of all the arts, of all the sciences, of all human knowledge—the luxury of thought and of imagination.

In this new career their conquests were no less rapid than they had been in that of arms: the empire which they here founded was no less vast; it was elevated with a celerity no less surprising, to a grandeur no less gigantic; but doubtless it was based upon foundations equally feeble, and its duration was equally brief. The flight of Mohammed from Mecca to Medina, which is called the Hegira, corresponds to the year 622 of the Christian era; the supposed conflagration of the Alexandrian library by Amrou, a general of the calif Omar, corresponds to the year 641, the epoch of the greatest barbarity of the Saracens; and this wanton outrage, however doubtful it may be, has left an indelible impression of their contempt for letters. A century had hardly elapsed from the period to which the execution of this barbarous act is assigned, when the passionate love of the arts, of science, and of poetry was seated, in 750, on the throne of the califs, in the family of the Abbassides. In Greek literature the age of Pericles had been prepared by nearly eight centuries of progressive culture since the Trojan war, (from B. C. 1209 to B. C. 431.) In the Latin, the age of Augustus was also eight centuries removed from the foundation of Rome. In the French, the age of Louis XIV. was distant twelve centuries from that of Clovis; but in the rapid growth of the Arabians, the age of Al-Mamoun, the father of letters, and the

Augustus of Bagdad, was not one hundred and fifty years from the first origin of the monarchy.

All the literature of the Arabs bears traces of this rapid growth; and in that of modern Europe, formed in the school of the Arabs, and enriched by them, we still catch glimpses of the ancient vestiges of a too prompt development, of a first intoxication of spirit, which had bewildered the imagination and the taste of the people of the East.

We purpose to present to the reader but a slight notice of Arabian literature; sufficient merely to show its spirit, and the influence it has exercised over the people of Europe; to enable us to comprehend in what manner the Oriental style, borrowed from this literature by the Spaniards and the Provençals, has infused itself into all the Romanshe languages. Could we plunge deeper into Arabian literature; could we unroll to the eyes of our readers those brilliant fictions which made of Asia a fairy land; could we cause them to taste the charms of that inspired poetry, which, expressing the most impetuous passions, employed for its language the boldest and most ingenious figures, and communicated to the soul a thrilling influence, of which our own more timid poets have scarce a conception, we should doubtless find, in a taste so new and so different, ample recompense for the faults that would strike us. But we cannot flatter ourselves with making upon the mind of another a deeper impression of the beauties of a foreign language than we have ourselves felt. To move others, it is necessary to be moved; and to inspire confidence, we must judge from our own sentiments. I have no knowledge of the Arabic, or of any of the languages of the East; and it is therefore to extracts, rather than to translations, that I shall be obliged to confine myself.

Ali, the fourth calif in succession from Mohammed, was the first in the Arabian empire who granted protection to literature; his rival and successor, Moavia, the first of the Ommiades, (A. D. 661-680,) was still more eminently its patron. He called to his court the men most distinguished in the sciences; he surrounded himself with poets: and as he had already subjected to his empire several Grecian isles and provinces, the sciences of the Greeks began, under him, to exercise their first influence over the Arabs.

After the extinction of the dynasty of the Ommiades, that of the Abbassides afforded yet greater protection to letters. Al-Manzor, or Mansour, the second of these princes, (A. D. 754-775,) invited to reside with him a Greek physician, George Bactischwah, who first gave to the Arabs translations of the Greek writers on medicine. Bactischwah, or Bocht Jesu, was descended from those Chris-

tians in the Greek empire who were persecuted for their attachment to the dogmas of the Nestorians, and who had sought safety and peace among the Persians, and founded, in the eleventh century, the famous medical school at Gondisapor. Nestorius, patriarch of Constantinople from A. D. 429 to 431, who separated too widely, in the opinion of the orthodox, the two persons as well as the two natures in Christ, had manifested a persecuting zeal, of which he was in his turn a victim. Thousands of Nestorians, his disciples, after the councils of Ephesus and Chalcedon, had perished by fire and the sword. In their turn they massacred in Persia, about A. D. 500, from seven to eight thousand of their orthodox adversaries, the Monophysites; but, after these first reprisals, they devoted themselves to the sciences with more ardor, and, at the same time, with more charity, than the other Christian churches, and preserved the Greek learning in the Syriac language, at the time when superstition had overshadowed it in the empire of the East. From their school of Gondisapor there issued a crowd of learned Nestorians and Jews, who, obtaining credit by their medical science, transported to the Orientals all the rich inheritance of Greek knowledge.

The celebrated Aroun-al-Raschid, who reigned from A. D. 786 to A. D. 809, acquired a brilliant fame for the protection which he granted to letters; and the historian Elmacin asserts, that he never undertook a journey without taking at least one hundred learned men in his suite. To Aroun the Arabs are indebted for their rapid progress in science and letters; for he made it a rule to himself never to build a mosque without attaching to it a school. His successors imitated him, and in a short time the sciences cultivated in the capital were borne to the utmost extremities of the empire of the califs. Wherever the believers assembled themselves to worship God, they found in his temple the occasion of rendering to him the noblest homage permitted to the creature—that of cultivating the faculties with which the Creator has endowed him. Aroun was sufficiently superior to the fanaticism which formerly animated his sect, not to despise the knowledge acquired in another religion. The chief of his schools, and the great director of education in his empire, was Jean Ebn Messua, a Nestorian Christian of Damas.

But the true protector and father of Arabian literature was Al-Mamoun, (Mohammed-Aben-Amer,) the seventh Abbassidan calif, and son of Aroun-al-Raschid. While the father was yet living, in a voyage to Khorasan, Al-Mamoun chose to accompany him the men most celebrated for their knowledge among the Greeks,

Persians, and Chaldeans. Succeeding to the sovereignty, (A. D. 813-833,) he made of Bagdad the centre of literature. Study, books, and learned men were almost the only objects of his attention. Letters became his favorite amusement; his ministers were solely occupied with the progress of literature; and it might be said that the throne of the califs had been elevated for the honor of the muses. From all parts of the world learned men were sought out and called to his court. He retained them by rewards, and by honors and distinctions of every kind. He collected all the important books that could be discovered in the subjected provinces of Syria, Armenia, and Egypt. These were the most precious tribute demanded by the sovereign; and every governor of a province, and all under the administration, were charged, first of all, to collect the literary treasures of the conquered country, to be deposited at the foot of the throne. Hundreds of camels were seen to enter Bagdad, laden solely with papers and books; and all that were thought proper for public instruction were immediately translated into Arabic. Masters, censors, translators, and commentators of books formed the court of Al-Mamoun, which had more the appearance of an academy of learning than of the centre of the government of a warlike empire. When this calif dictated peace to the Greek emperor, Michael the Stammerer, he demanded of him as a tribute a collection of Greek books. The sciences were especially favored by the califs; speculative philosophy was exercised on the highest questions, in spite of the jealous distrust of some Mussulman fanatics, who accused Al-Mamoun of thus endangering the foundations of Islamism. Medicine had enlisted in its cause several of his most illustrious doctors; law had been taught him by the celebrated Kossa; and as this, in the eyes of the Mussulmans, was the most religious of all sciences, it was this to which his subjects devoted themselves with the greatest ardor; while Al-Mamoun was governed by his taste for the mathematics, which he studied with brilliant success. He undertook the great operation of measuring the earth, and caused it to be accomplished at his own expense by his mathematicians. The elements of astronomy of Alfragan, (Fargani,) and the astronomical tables of Al-Merwasi, were the work of two of his courtiers. This same Al-Mamoun, not less generous than enlightened, in pardoning one of his relatives who had entered into a conspiracy against him to usurp the throne, exclaimed, "Ah! were it known how much pleasure I take in forgiving, all who have offended me would come and confess their faults."

The progress of the nation in the sciences was proportioned to

the zeal of its chief. Colleges, schools, and academies were erected in every city, and learned men went forth from all parts of the country. Bagdad was the capital of letters as well as of the califs; but Bassora and Cufa nearly equaled this city in celebrity, and produced nearly as many distinguished works in prose and verse. Balkh, Ispahan, and Samarcand were also nurseries of science. The same zeal had been carried by the Arabs far from the frontiers of Asia. The Jew Benjamin of Tudela relates, in his Itinerary, that he found at Alexandria more than twenty schools for teaching philosophy. Cairo also contained many colleges; and that of Betzuaila, one of the suburbs of this capital, was so strongly built, that in a rebellion it served for a citadel to an army. In the cities of Fez and Morocco the most magnificent buildings were dedicated to study, and sustained by the wisest and most benevolent institutions. Valuable books, which had everywhere else disappeared, were preserved to Europe in the rich libraries of Fez and Larace. But Spain was pre-eminently the seat of Arabian sciences; there they shone with the greatest brilliancy, and there they made the most rapid progress. Cordova, Grenada, Seville, and all the cities of the peninsula vied with each other in the magnificence of their schools, their colleges, their academies, and their libraries. The academy of Grenada had for its preceptor Schamseddin de Murcie, so celebrated by the Arabs. Metuahel-al-Allah, who reigned at Grenada in the twelfth century, possessed a magnificent library; and a great number of manuscripts transcribed for his use are still preserved in the Escorial. Alhaken, the founder of the academy of Cordova, gave six hundred volumes to the library of that city. Seventy libraries were opened for the use of the public in the different cities of Spain, precisely at the epoch when the remainder of Europe, without books, without science, without culture, was plunged in the most shameful ignorance. The number of Arabian authors in Spain was so prodigious, that several Arabian bibliographers wrote learned treatises on the authors born in a single city, as Seville, Valencia, or Cordova; or on those among the Spaniards who had consecrated themselves to a single science, as philosophy, poetry, medicine, or the mathematics. Thus, throughout the vast extent of the Arabian dominion in the three parts of the world, the progress of letters had followed that of arms; and during five or six centuries, being from the ninth to the fourteenth or fifteenth of our era, literature preserved all its brilliancy.

One of the first cares of the Arabs, at the revival of letters, had been to perfect the instrument of thought and imagination. The

cultivation of language, among many of their learned men, was the principal object of their labors. They divided themselves into two rival schools, that of Cufa and that of Bassora; and these schools sent forth distinguished scholars, who analyzed with subtilty the rules of the Arabic language.

The study of rhetoric was united to that of grammar; and, as happens in all literatures, precepts in these arts were subsequent to models. The Koran was not written according to rhetorical rules. A disorder of thoughts, produced by an overwrought enthusiasm—obscurity and contradiction, the consequence of the agitated life and varied plans of the author, destroy the unity, and even the interest of this book. Besides, its chapters were arranged, not according to their date or their connection, but according to their length, beginning with the longest and ending with the shortest; and a work in which the ideas were less gigantic and less disordered would yet oftener be made unintelligible by so whimsical an arrangement. Still, no other book in the Arabic language presents passages written in a sublimer poetic strain, or with more fascinating eloquence. In like manner, the first discourses addressed to the people and to the armies, to penetrate them with the new faith, and inspire them with a love of arms, had doubtless more true eloquence than those which were afterward composed in the schools of the most famous Arabian rhetoricians. These latter, however, were eager to translate the most celebrated Greek works on rhetoric—to adapt them to their language, the genius of which was so different, and thus to form a new art, which was illustrated by several Arabian Quintilians.

After the time of Mohammed and his first successors, popular eloquence ceased to be cultivated among the Arabs. Oriental despotism having succeeded the liberty of the desert, the principal men in the state and in the army regarded it as beneath them to harangue the people or the soldiers. They no longer expected aught from their deliberations or their zeal, and appealed only to their obedience. But if political eloquence was of brief duration among the Arabs, they were the inventors of that species which is most cultivated at the present day. They exercised themselves alternately in academic eloquence and in that of the pulpit. Their philosophers, if enthusiasts of the beauty of their language, seized with eagerness the occasion to develop, in their learned assemblies, all that it possessed of numbers and of harmony. In this career Malek was considered the most fascinating of their orators; Schoraïph was acknowledged to possess pre-eminently the power of uniting the brilliancy of poetry to the vigor of prose; and Al-

Harisi was placed by his contemporaries in the rank of Demosthenes and Cicero. On the other hand, Mohammed had enjoined that his faith should be preached in all the mosques. The name of orator (*khateb*) was specially appropriated by usage to sacred speakers, and that of discourse (*khotbah*) to their sermons. Many of these sermons have been preserved in the library of the Escorial; and it may be seen from them that their method was very similar to that now observed by Christian orators. The preacher commenced by thanksgivings, the profession of faith, and prayers for the king and the happiness of the kingdom. He afterward named his text and developed his subject. He supported himself on the authority of the Koran and the doctors; and endeavored to dissuade the people from vice, and to incline their hearts to a virtuous life.

Poetry, even more than eloquence, had been, from their first origin, the favorite occupation of the Arabs. It has been asserted that this nation alone has produced more poets than all others united. Arabian poetry existed even before the use of writing became universal; and from the highest antiquity, academic games, and a meeting of poets, were annually celebrated in the city of Ocadh. Mohammed, however, prohibited them, as a lingering vestige of idolatry. Seven of the most famous of the ancient poets are designated by Oriental writers under the name of the Arabian Pleiades; and their works were suspended about the Caaba, or temple of Mecca. Mohammed himself cultivated poetry, as did also Ali, Amrou, and some of the most celebrated among his first companions; but after his time the muses seem to have remained mute until the reign of the Abbassides. It was under Aroun-al-Raschid and his successor, Al-Mamoun, and still more under the Ommiades of Spain, that Arabian poetry attained its greatest excellence. Then appeared that army of poets, of chivalrous lovers, and of princesses, whom the Orientalists compare to Anacreon, to Pindar, and to Sappho. Their names, which I have vainly sought to impress upon my memory, in the absence of a knowledge of their works, would also probably escape that of most of my readers. The highest celebrity in languages so distant from us, so different in orthography and the form of its letters, is so fugitive, that I do not recognize in D'Herbelot those whom Andrès places in the first rank, such as Al-Monotabbi of Cufa, whom he names the prince of poets.

In their poems the Orientals displayed great subtilty, and great ingenuity of thought. The expression is graceful and elegant, the sentiments are noble; and we may easily credit the assertions of Orientalists, that in the original language there is a harmony in

the verse, a justness in the expressions, and a grace pervading the whole, which are necessarily lost to us. But it must also be acknowledged that the effect of these poems arises in part from bold metaphors, huge allegories, and excessive hyperbole. We cannot but feel that what characterizes Oriental taste is an abuse of the imagination and the intellect. The Arabs disdained the poetry of the Greeks, which to them appeared timid, cold, and formal. Among all the books which they borrowed from the Greeks, and revered with a worship almost superstitious, there is not a single poem. None of these works of classic genius were judged by them worthy of a translation; and, in their opinion, neither Homer, nor Sophocles, nor even Pindar, could bear a comparison with their native poets. The Arabs wish to shine by the boldest and most gigantic images; they wish always to astonish the reader by startling expressions; they overload their subject with ornament, and seem never to suppose that what is beautiful can be superfluous. They are not content with a comparison, but they heap comparisons one upon another; not to give clearness to the idea, but to impart brilliancy to the coloring. To describe natural sentiments forms no part of their solicitude; they wish that art may appear; and art to them is admirable in proportion as it enables them to multiply ornament.

Among classic nations the imitation of nature led to the invention of epic and dramatic poetry, in which the poet aims to lend to sentiment the true language of the heart. To this the Orientals made no pretensions. All their poetry was lyric. To seem inspired, poetry should assume the language of nature; and under whatever name it may be known, to whatever rules it may be subjected, it should always echo the voice of the passions.

Among the Arabs, as with us, rhyme was an essential requisite of poetry. It was carried even further than with us in the construction of verses; and a uniformity of sound was often kept up throughout an entire phrase. Their lyric poetry was also subjected to particular rules—either with regard to the form of the strophe, the order of the rhymes, or the length of the poem—which extended that poetic harmony over the whole that already governed each phrase or verse. Two forms of versification, the *ghazèle* and the *casside*, principally prevailed among the Arabs and Persians. Both these forms were composed of distichs: the first lines of these distichs were without rhymes; the second lines were rhymed throughout the poem. Thus, in the species of versification which the Spaniards term *asonancia*, and which they have apparently borrowed from the Arabs, while the first lines are not rhymed, the

same assonant rhyme, or rhyming of the vowels, occurs throughout the second lines of the distichs. The *casside* was an amatory or warlike idyl, the length of which was limited to from twenty to a hundred distichs; the *ghazèle* was an amorous ode, which might contain no fewer than seven, nor more than thirteen distichs. The first is in the style of the *canzoni* of Petrarch, and the second in that of his sonnets. As Petrarch composed a *canzoniere*, that is, a collection of *canzoni* and sonnets on different subjects; and as all the other Provençal poets, Italian, Spanish, and Portuguese, have also a *canzoniere*, the principal merit of which consists in the variety of images in the same sentiment, and the variety of harmony in the same measure of verse; in like manner the Arabs and Persians have their *divan*, which is a collection of *ghazèles*, varied by termination or rhyme. A perfect *divan* is where the poet regularly follows, in his rhymes, all the letters of the alphabet; for they have a taste for constraint, without harmony; a taste which we shall find in all the Romanshe poetry, and in that of all the nations educated in their school.

But if the Orientals had neither epic nor dramatic poetry, they were the inventors of a species which takes the place of the epic, and which, among them, was substituted for the drama. We owe to them those stories, so brilliant in their creation, so rich and varied in imagination, which made the charm of our childhood, and to which we cannot recur in more advanced age without experiencing anew their fascination. The *Thousand and one Nights* are familiar to all readers; but, if we may credit the translator, what we possess is but the thirty-sixth part of the great Arabian collection. This collection is not merely contained in books; it is the wealth of a numerous class of men and women, who, throughout the extent of the dominion of Mohammed, in Turkey, in Persia, and even to the extremities of the Indies, make a business of amusing by their stories a people who love to forget, in the dreams of imagination, the painful sensations of the present moment. In the coffee-houses of the Levant, one of these story-tellers assembles about himself a listening crowd; he sometimes excites the terror or pity of his auditors; but oftener he brings before their eyes those brilliant and fantastic visions which are the patrimony of Oriental imagination; occasionally he awakens laughter, and only on this occasion does the cloud rise from the brow of the fierce Osmanli. This is the only spectacle known in the Levant, and these story-tellers there take the place of comedians among us. Even the public square has often its story-tellers. The females of this class divert the tedium of the seraglio. Physicians often order

their patients to procure the services of a story-teller, to soften their griefs, to calm their agitation, and to induce sleep after long periods of watchfulness; and the artist, accustomed to suffering, modulates his voice, softens its tone, or gradually suspends it, in the manner best calculated to provoke sleep.

The Arab imagination, which shines with all its brilliancy in these stories, is easily distinguished from the imagination of chivalry; but it is easy to see that the two have a strong relationship. The supernatural world is to both the same; the moral world is different. The Arabian stories, like the romances of chivalry, introduce us into the same fairy land; but the human personages there created are of another order. These stories have been invented since the Arabs, yielding the power of the sword to the Tartars, the Turks, and the Persians, have occupied themselves solely with commerce, letters, and the arts. We recognize in them a commercial people, as in the romances of chivalry we recognize a warlike race. Riches, and the luxury of the arts, there dispute with the fairies the palm of splendor. Their heroes are constantly traversing new countries; and their activity is not less exercised by the interest of trade, than our ancient cavaliers were excited by the desire for renown. Besides the women, we see in these stories but four classes of persons: princes, merchants, monks, and slaves. Soldiers have little or no part in them; valor and high military exploits, in them, as in the pageants of the East, excite terror, and carry desolation, but awaken no enthusiasm. In these stories there is consequently something less noble, less heroic, than we are accustomed to desire. But, in return, we should consider these story-tellers as our masters in the art of creating, varying, and sustaining the interest of a tale. To them we are indebted for that brilliant mythology of genii and fairies which enlarges the world of fancy, which multiplies human strength and riches, and enables us to live in the marvelous without freezing us with terror. From them are derived that tenderness, that delicacy of sentiment, that devotion to woman, which have had so great an influence on our chivalry, and which we shall find in all the literature of the south of Europe. The stories themselves penetrated our poetry long before the translation of the *Thousand and one Nights*. We find several of them in our old fabliaux,* in Boccaccio, and in Ariosto; and these same stories, which made the delight of our childhood, passing from language to language, and from nation to nation, often through channels unknown, are at

* A sort of story in verse, very common in early French poetry.

present connected with all the remembrances, all the pleasures of imagination, of the inhabitants of half the globe.

But the influence on letters which the Arabs have exercised in Europe has not been proportioned to the admiration which their poetry alone has excited. Their rapid progress in the sciences gave them a universal authority over all the empire of mind; and those whom European scholars were accustomed to regard as their masters in the science of numbers, the study of nature, and the knowledge of history or geography, appeared to them equally entitled to preside as infallible oracles of taste. As regards European literature, therefore, the state of the sciences among the Arabs, when our ancestors emerged from barbarism, is a matter of no little moment.

All branches of history were cultivated with a lively interest by the Arabs; several among them, the most celebrated of whom was Aboul-Feda, prince of Hamah, wrote universal histories, which embraced a period extending back from their days to the creation of the world. Each state, each province, each city had its own chroniclers and historians. Several, in imitation of Plutarch, composed biographies of the great men among them who had distinguished themselves by their virtues, their talents, or their exploits. So strong a passion existed among the Arabs to explore every path, and to leave no subject untouched, that Ben-Zaid of Cordova, and Aboul-Monder of Valencia, seriously wrote histories of celebrated horses. Alasueco, in like manner, wrote a history of celebrated camels. Historical dictionaries were invented by the Arabs, and Abdel-Maleck gave to the people who spoke his language what Moreri has given to Europeans. They had also geographical dictionaries of great exactness, and critical and bibliographical dictionaries; all those inventions, in short, which facilitate labor, which obviate research, and which divert idleness, were early in use among the Arabs. The science of numismatics was cultivated by them, and Al-Namari wrote a history of the moneys of Arabia. Every art, every science, had its history; and the Arabs were richer in this respect than any other people, ancient or modern. Al-Assaker wrote commentaries on the first inventors of the arts; Al-Gazel, in his *Antiquities of the Arabs*, treated with profound knowledge of the studies and inventions of his contemporaries. Medicine and philosophy had a greater number of historians than the other sciences; but all were united in the *Historical Dictionary of the Sciences*, by Mohammed-Aba-Abdallah, of Grenada.

Philosophy was cultivated with ardor by the Arabs, and made the glory of many ingenious and discriminating men, whose names

are still revered in Europe ; as Averrhoes of Cordova, the great commentator of Aristotle, who died A. D. 1198 ; Avicenna, from the neighborhood of Chyrax, not less profound as a philosopher than celebrated as a physician, who died A. D. 1037 ; Al-Farabi, of Farab, who spoke seventy languages, wrote on all the sciences, and united them all in an encyclopedia ; he died A. D. 950 ; Al-Gazeli, of Thous, who subjected religious studies to philosophy ; he died A. D. 1111. Arabian scholars did not confine themselves to the studies which they could pursue in their closets ; for the advancement of science they undertook the most toilsome and perilous journeys ; they entered the councils of princes, and were often engaged in the violent and bloody revolutions of the East ; their private history is also more varied, more filled with incident, and more romantic, than that of the philosophers and scholars of all other countries.

Of all the Arabic sciences, philosophy was that which first penetrated the West, and had the greatest influence on the schools of Europe ; it was also, nevertheless, the science whose progress had the least of reality. The Arabs, more ingenious than profound, attached themselves rather to subtilties than to the connection of ideas ; they were far more eager to dazzle than to instruct ; in the eyes of the vulgar, the darkness of obscurity gave to them an air of profundity ; they tasked their imagination for mysteries ; instead of penetrating the depth of the nature of things, where obscurity arises from human feebleness, and the greatness of the subject, they enveloped science in clouds. More enthusiastic than daring, they preferred to consider man as the oracle of all human knowledge, rather than to seek information in the book of nature ; and in this spirit they rendered almost divine worship to Aristotle. In their eyes, all philosophy was found in his writings, and all metaphysics were to be explained by the scholastic method.

An exact translation, a subtle illustration of the work of the Stagyrte, was deemed the sublimest attainable point for the genius of a philosopher ; and to this end they read, explained, and compared all the commentaries of the first disciples of Aristotle. It is matter of astonishment, however, that men so acute, with so much study, and the application of so many years, did not succeed in comprehending and explaining with clearness the books which were the object of all their labors. All have bewildered themselves, and sometimes grossly. Averrhoes, in his translations and his commentaries, has often no resemblance to the original ; and the perpetual search for mysteries in simple things, and for concealed meanings in the clearest phrases, would have rendered the

school of Aristotle among the Arabs unintelligible to that philosopher.

The natural sciences were cultivated among the Arabs, not with more ardor, but with a more just appreciation of the means necessary to be used in their acquisition. Abou-Ryhan-al-Byrouny, who died A. D. 941, traveled forty years in quest of information on the science of lithology; and his treatise on precious stones is a rich collection of facts and observations. Ibn or Aben-al-Beithar, of Malaga, who devoted himself with the same passion to botany, at first visited the mountains and plains of Europe, to learn the history of their vegetables; he afterward, with invincible courage, traversed the burning sands and deserts of Africa, to collect or describe the plants that can support the intense heat of the sun; and finally he made a tour of the most distant countries of Asia. In the three parts of the then known world, he observed with his own eyes, and touched with his own hands, all that nature in her three kingdoms presents of uncommon or rare; animals, vegetables, and fossils, all were subjected to his examination. He afterward returned to his own country, rich with the spoils of the East and the South, and published successively three books,—one on the virtues of plants, another on stones and metals, and the third on animals,—which contained more true science than had been developed by any other naturalist. He died A. D. 1248, at Damas, to which place he had returned, and where he was made intendant of the gardens of the prince. Others among the Arabs, as Al-Rasi, Ali-Ben-al-Abbas, and Avicenna, have merited the gratitude of posterity. Chemistry, which was in some sort the invention of the Arabs, gave to them a deeper knowledge of nature than was possessed by the Greeks or Romans, and this science received from them an extensive application to all the necessary arts of life. Agriculture was studied by them with that perfect knowledge of climate, of soil, and of the growth of plants and animals, which alone can reduce a long practice to a science. No civilized nation, ancient or modern, has possessed a wiser, more just, or more perfect code of rural laws than the Arabs of Spain; no country was ever elevated by its wise laws, by the intelligence, activity, and industry of its inhabitants, to a higher degree of agricultural prosperity than Moorish Spain, and particularly the kingdom of Grenada. The arts were cultivated with no less success, and were not less enriched by the progress of the natural sciences. For a great number of inventions which at present contribute to the conveniences of life, and even for those without which literature could never have flourished, we are indebted to the Arabs. Thus paper—so necessary at present

to the improvement of the mind, the want of which plunged Europe, from the seventh to the tenth century, in such a degree of ignorance and barbarism—is an Arabian invention. From the highest antiquity, it is true, this article was manufactured at China, from silk; but about the year 30 of the Hegira, (A. D. 649,) this branch of industry was introduced into Samarcand; and when that flourishing city was conquered by the Saracens, in the year 85 of the Hegira, Joseph Amrou, an Arabian, transported the process by which paper was manufactured to Mecca, his native city. He employed cotton in its fabrication; and the first paper similar to that in use at the present day was made in the year 88 of the Hegira, (A. D. 706,) at Mecca. From this city the art was carried into all the Arabian states, but especially into Spain, where the city of Sativa, in the kingdom of Valencia, now called San Felipo, was celebrated from the twelfth century for its paper-mills. At this period the Spaniards substituted linen for cotton in the manufacture of paper; the former being abundant with them, but the latter scarce and expensive. It was not till the end of the thirteenth century, by the efforts of Alfonso X., king of Castile, that paper-mills were established in the Christian states of Spain, whence they were introduced, so late as the fourteenth century, into Treviso and Padua.

Gunpowder, the invention of which is attributed to a German chimist, was known among the Arabs at least a century before any indications of it are found in European historians; it was frequently employed in the wars of the Moors of Spain in the thirteenth century, and some monuments would appear to indicate the knowledge of it in the eleventh. The mariner's compass, the invention of which has been attributed alternately to the Italians and the French, in the thirteenth century, was known to the Arabs in the eleventh. The geographer of Nubia, who wrote in the twelfth century, speaks of it as a thing universally in use. Arithmetical figures, which we term Arabic, but which might, perhaps, more justly be denominated Indian, have at least been communicated to us by the Arabs. Without them, none of the sciences of numbers could be carried to that degree of perfection which they have attained in our day, and which the great mathematicians and astronomers of Arabia very nearly approached. The number of Arabic inventions which we enjoy is doubtless immense; but they have been introduced into Europe from several quarters at the same time, slowly, and without causing any sensation, because he who imported them did not attribute to himself the glory of their discovery, and because he encountered in every country those who,

like himself, had seen them practiced in the East. It is a characteristic of all the pretended discoveries of the middle ages, that at the moment when history makes mention of them for the first time, it is as of things universally in use. Neither gunpowder, the mariner's compass, figures, nor paper are anywhere noted as discoveries; yet they were to change the nature of war, of navigation, of the sciences, and of education. Can we doubt that the inventor, had he existed, would have prided himself upon so important an innovation? and if he has not done so, ought we not to conclude that these things have been slowly imported, from a country where they were universally known, by obscure persons, and not by men of genius?

Such was the brilliancy with which science and literature shone, from the ninth to the fourteenth century of our era, in the vast countries which had submitted to Islamism. The saddest reflections attach themselves to that long enumeration of illustrious names, unknown to us; of works buried in manuscript in dusty libraries, which nevertheless had a powerful influence, for a time, on the cultivation of the human mind. What remains of so much glory? But five or six persons are able to examine the treasure of Arabic manuscripts shut up in the library of the Escorial; some hundreds more, scattered over Europe, have prepared themselves, by obstinate labor, to search the mines of the East; but they have merely obtained, with much toil, some rare and obscure manuscripts, and they are unable to elevate themselves sufficiently high to judge the whole of a literature of which they have examined but a part. Meantime the vast regions hitherto and now under the dominion of Islamism are dead to all the sciences. The rich countries of Fez and Morocco, celebrated, five centuries since, for so many academies, universities, and libraries, are but deserts of burning sand, the possession of which is disputed by tyrants and tigers; the pleasant and fertile shores of Mauritania, where commerce, the arts, and agriculture had risen to the highest state of prosperity, are to-day the retreats of corsairs, who spread terror over the seas, and rest from their labors only to plunge into the most shameful debauches, till the pestilence yearly marks them for its victims, and thus revenges outraged humanity. Egypt is nearly buried by the sands which it formerly fertilized; Syria and Palestine are desolated by wandering Bedouins, who are yet less formidable than the pacha that oppresses them. Bagdad, formerly the abode of luxury, of power, and of learning, is a city of ruins; the celebrated universities of Cufa and Bassora, of Balkh and Samarcand, no longer exist. In this immense extent of country,

two or three times larger than Europe, naught remains but ignorance, slavery, terror, and death. Few of its inhabitants are able to read the writings of their illustrious ancestors ; fewer would be able to comprehend them, and none are able to procure them. That immense literary treasure of the Arabs, of which we have given but a sketch, exists no longer in any of the countries where the Arabs or the Mussulmans are dominant. In vain do we seek there for the renown or the writings of their great men. The remnant of them is in the hands of their enemies—in the convents of monks, and the libraries of the kings of Europe. Still, these vast countries have never been conquered ; it is not the stranger that has stripped them of their riches, annihilated their population, and destroyed their laws, their manners, and their national spirit. The poison was within them ; it has developed itself by its own strength, and annihilated all things.

J. L. J.

New-York, July, 1842.

ART. V.—*History of the Expedition under the Command of Captains Lewis and Clarke to the Sources of the Missouri, thence across the Rocky Mountains, and down the River Columbia to the Pacific Ocean: performed during the Years 1804, 1805, 1806, by Order of the Government of the United States.* Prepared for the Press by PAUL ALLEN, Esq. Revised and abridged by the Omission of unimportant Details, with an Introduction and Notes. By ARCHIBALD M'VICKAR. Harper & Brothers. Vols. 154 and 155 of the Family Library.

THE Journal of the Expedition of Lewis and Clarke was not made public until the year 1814. There was an edition afterward given ; but, according to our recollection, not under the direction of the original editor. Whatever may have been the number of copies in these editions, the work has for a long time past been scarce—not to be had of the booksellers, rarely to be met with in private libraries, and to be found with certainty only on the shelves of the public libraries. Under these circumstances the publishers, the Messrs. Harpers, were of opinion that this work might be reduced in bulk without injury to the matter, and, with such modification, be introduced with advantage into the body of the school library.

On comparing the pages before us with the original work edited

by Mr. Paul Allen, it appears that in the compression of the narrative, the most important portions have been retained in the words of the original. The same caution has been observed in the accounts of the natives, and of their usages and habits of life. In the monotony of a progress along a river, with long lines of banks, and scenery of wearisome sameness, and these daily noted, much might be omitted or pared down without injury to the narrative. So, likewise, when separate parties were sent out, in different directions, by land and by water, in search of some desirable, yet distant and uncertain point, the story of fruitless wanderings ending in disappointment, might, except where some stirring incident occurred, or some unexpected discovery was made, easily be brought within a less compass.

The Introduction prefixed to this new form of the original work brings together in one general view information as to various subjects which should be interesting to readers of the *Journal of Lewis and Clarke*. A sketch is given of early maritime discoveries along the north-western shores of America by the Spaniards. Mention is made of Captain James Cook's visit to the coast at a much later day. The slight circumstance, that some furs were obtained from the natives by the officers and men of the squadron, which were by them applied to the most ordinary uses, and were afterward sold at high prices in the market of Canton when Captain Clarke put into the river flowing by that city, gave beginning to the fur trade, which was for many years successfully carried on by British and American merchants by direct voyages to the north-west coast of America. A more familiar acquaintance with the coast was the consequence. More particular surveys were made, among the results of which the most important was the ascertaining, by Robert Gray, of the ship *Columbia*, from Boston, of the mouth and stream of the Columbia River, the existence of which, up to the very time of Gray's discovery, was a questionable point with seamen, who had in vain sought it. From discoveries on the side of the ocean the Introduction turns to the attempts of enterprising travelers to penetrate the country by land, and thus reach the shores of the Pacific. The names of Carver and Mackenzie here occur. A view of the origin of the British and American Fur Companies is given; a sketch of the great project of Mr. John Jacob Astor, in its beginnings, progress, and failure. These are followed by notices of the further efforts of companies or individuals from the United States to carry on a trade or form establishments west of the Rocky Mountains.

A short description is added of the face of the country, of the

ranges of mountains, and of the rivers which flow from them.* In conclusion, there is a statement of the condition of the trading posts of the Hudson's Bay Company at Vancouver and elsewhere; and of the less ambitious mission establishment founded by the Methodist Episcopal Church of the United States, with a small body of colonists, in the valley of the Multnomah. Occasional notes give the observations and remarks of travelers who have within late years visited the country west of the mountains.

It is the part of an American reviewer to hail with pleasure the first appearance of any respectable literary work of native production, and, as in the instance before us, where a narrative and subject are again brought forward, which, though for a long time overlooked by the generality of readers, still have an intrinsic value and interest—he should bestow upon them a more than passing notice. The expedition of Lewis and Clarke further recommends itself to the American reader, in that it is especially national in its objects, actors, subjects, and scenes. In the conducting of it, and in its successful results, it was highly honorable to the leaders of the expedition, who, as occasion demanded, showed courage, resolution, perseverance, and powers of endurance, and, toward the natives, forbearance, and a spirit of humanity. The men who composed the body of the party were entitled to praise for the discipline and spirit with which they underwent every toil and hardship. The utmost harmony seems to have prevailed throughout the long journey outward and homeward, which ended safely and happily, with but a single death either by disease or casualty.

Some remarks we are here tempted to make, from which a lesson may be drawn, valuable to those who, in the midst of the comforts and in the shelter of civilized life, too sedulously and anxiously guard their health. The party which accompanied Captain Lewis as far as the Mandans, where they wintered, was forty-two in number. The body which proceeded onward in April, 1805, was reduced, by a return of a part of the men homeward, to thirty-two. Yet these were led across the Rocky Mountains to the shores of the Pacific, and back from thence to St. Louis, where they arrived on the twenty-third of September, in the year 1806, in the full enjoyment of health and strength, after an absence, since the day of their entering the mouth of the Missouri in May, 1804, of two years,

* The boundaries to the north, as respectively claimed by the American and British commissioners in the years 1818, 1824, and 1826, are given with this unsatisfactory result, viz., the common occupation of the country, as it had previously existed, and still continues to exist.

four months, and some days. They encountered some perils, endured much hardship, and had gone through excessive labors and fatigue: they were exposed to the unknown diseases of a strange land and skies; sometimes full fed, sometimes sparsely, and more than once threatened with the pangs of hunger and starvation—without physician, surgeon, or surgeon's mate; with no well-furnished medicine chest, if that may be inferred from the remedies at times resorted to. The last of the stock of spirits, often used to qualify the water of new countries, was served out on the celebration of the fourth of July, 1805. Yet, in the face of all these, allowing some exceptions under scarcity and change of food, health, and its companion, buoyancy of spirits, were found in continual exertion, in novelty of scene and adventure, and from a life in the open air. When in winter quarters, or stationary for any length of time, and without occupation, Captains Lewis and Clarke encouraged their men to engage in lively amusements, as, at a later day, did Captain Parry, when blocked in the ice of the polar regions.

Although no naturalist, or professedly scientific man, was attached to the expedition, yet Captains Lewis and Clarke found, or made time, in the midst of the arduous duties of conducting the journey, and of watching over the discipline, welfare, and safety of their men, to collect and record, in conformity with the instructions furnished by Mr. Jefferson, a large and valuable mass of information. They ascertained the geographical position of the principal points on their route. The varying character of the Missouri, and the changing features of its banks, and of the adjoining country were noted, as well as the streams which discharged their waters into it. The nature of the soil, the different kinds of timber, shrubs, and other vegetable productions, were carefully observed. They give a copious catalogue of the quadrupeds, birds, fish, and reptiles which abound in prairie, forest, or river, with such full descriptions as denote careful observation, although wanting in scientific accuracy. The same comprehensiveness and minuteness of remark characterize the journal of the travelers in their passage through the mountains, in their voyage down the new stream of the Columbia, and while at the encampment on the shore at its mouth. An account, minute as well as ample, is given of the different tribes they met with throughout those wide regions, the correctness of which is confirmed by all succeeding travelers.

Works of this class lie so much out of the track of ordinary reading, they are so little connected with scholastic or professional

studies, and involving but remotely, as they do, questions of commerce, or of national policy, it is but in their commencement that attention is drawn to them by the periodical publications of the day, with now and then a passing after-notice when fresher travels over the same ground appear, or new questions arise which make their information valuable. The volumes, after a hasty perusal, are, in general, left to remain undisturbed upon the shelves, and a traveler of a later day not well instructed, and so the reader of his journal too, will find, on reference to the neglected volumes of his predecessor, that very much of what he has seen and described has been seen and described before. It is for these considerations that more space will be devoted to the subjects of this work, and to the analogies and inferences they suggest, with a freedom of quotation which would not otherwise be thought necessary.

The persons composing the party were selected by its chiefs in the close of the year 1803. It had been their intention to winter at La Charette on the Missouri. But the cession of Louisiana to the United States not having been made known officially to the Spanish authorities, it was thought better to take a position at the mouth of Wood Creek, on the east side of the Mississippi.

Captain Lewis and his party left their winter quarters on the fourteenth of May, 1804. They were embarked in three boats—the largest of which was fifty-five feet in length, drawing three feet water, carrying a large square sail, and having twenty-two oars; she had a decked cabin and forecastle, each ten feet long; the intervening space had lockers, which might be raised so as to form a defense in case of a hostile attack; the others were open boats, or pirogues, of six and seven oars. The expedition was well provided with stores, arms, and ammunition, and presents for the Indians: two horses were led along the banks to be used in hunting or other services. On the twenty-first they left St. Charles, twenty-one miles up the Missouri, the last place of any note at that day on the river. At La Charette, sixty-eight miles from the Missouri, they found the last settlement of whites, a small village of seven poor families. On the thirtieth of July they reached the Council Bluffs, a name given to a spot on the bank of the river, where a council was held with the Ottoes and Missouries. Near this place is now to be seen Fort Calhoun.

On the twentieth of August, three miles below the mouth of the Sioux River, Charles Floyd, one of the sergeants, died, after one day's illness, with a bilious colic, an event which the Journal mentions in becoming and feeling terms. The place of his interment was the summit of a bluff, on which was placed a cedar post

with name and date. This still remains, a touching memorial to travelers. In September the boats arrived at the Grand Detour, or great bend of the Missouri, and soon found themselves in the very midst of the Teton Sioux. The warlike propensities of this nation, and their repeated attacks upon the neighboring tribes, have left their traces in the ruins of villages along the river, whose inhabitants they have driven off or destroyed. In Lewis's progress up the river he found the spirits of the weaker tribes weighed down by the memory of recent sufferings, or the apprehension of further attacks on the part of the powerful Sioux. If ever the defenses of the large boat were to be raised, and the rifles of the company called into action, it was while among the Sioux, or within reach of their wandering bands. It was owing to the self-possession and resolution of the leaders, and to the courage and steadiness of the men, that bloodshed did not follow on the repeated insolences and provocations of the people of this tribe. This nation has lost nothing of the character or power of annoyance which they formerly enjoyed, and applications have just been made to the agents of the United States, by the remnant of the Delawares, and the more numerous Chippeways and Potawattomies, against the threatened attacks of the Sioux. The American Fur Company now have a strong trading post here.

At the time Lewis passed up the river, a Mr. Loisel had a fort and trading house, sixty or seventy feet square, on an island, called Cedar Island, a few miles below the Sioux camps. The tribe of the Ricaras, whose villages they next reached, offered a pleasing contrast to their neighbors below, of whom they had such fears that they dared not pass down the river. The Ricaras were at war with the Mandans, and the mediation of Lewis was sought by them in order to effect a peace, which he most readily promised. Mutual peace was what he constantly urged upon contending tribes, to bring about which was one of the objects of the expedition. While with some other tribes, whisky had been begged as the great father's (president's) milk, the Ricaras, on its being offered, declined it with this remark, "That they were surprised that their father should present to them a liquor which would make them fools." The Ricaras, like the Mandans and the Minnetarees, who are higher up the river, dwell in villages, the lodges of which are of a circular form, of thirty or forty feet in diameter, and constructed of upright posts, from which poles verge to a centre, where they are supported by four taller posts. The floor is a few feet lower than the surface of the ground, and a hole is left as a vent for the smoke. Remains of Mandan villages, from which the inhabit-

ants had in former years been driven by the more powerful Sioux, repeatedly met the eyes of the travelers, until they reached the existing villages on the twenty-seventh of October, 1804, after a river voyage from the entrance of the Missouri of five months and some days.

They were now in latitude 47° , $21'$ north: the winter was approaching: the mountains, the abode of frost, ice, and snows, were near: this was among the last resting places this side of the mountains. It was thereupon determined to stop among the Mandans. A spot was selected, in which suitable buildings were erected, into which they moved on the twentieth of November: the boats were securely moored, and the party took up their quarters for the winter.

Let us now throw a backward glance on the voyage of the party up the Missouri. St. Charles was the last place of any name, at the short distance of twenty-one miles from its mouth. At La Charette they left the last settlement of whites, consisting of seven poor families, at no more than sixty-eight miles from the Mississippi. In a voyage of sixteen hundred miles, far as the Mandans, besides the Indians in their canoes, in their villages, or on the banks, they had met with no dwellers or wanderers in the land, except now and then a French trader or hunter, with his companions, either stationary in the villages or coming down the river from remote points of the Kansas, the Platte, or the Missouri, in canoes or in rafts laden with skins and buffalo lard. The only vestiges they beheld of former occupation of the country by Europeans were the ruins of a fort in the rear of an old Indian village, which was marked by "some remains of chimneys, and the general outline of the fortification, as well as by the fine spring which supplied it with water. The party who were stationed here were probably cut off by the Indians, as there are no accounts of them."—Vol. i, p. 60. French fort and garrison, village and Indian, have passed away, but the fine spring which quenched their thirst is there still, to "murmur on a thousand years, and flow as now it flows."

At this day there is the state of Missouri, which extends north and south of either bank, and stretches westward from St. Louis on the Mississippi, four degrees of longitude. Through the whole breadth of the state the banks of the river are dotted with towns and villages, from its mouth to the town of Independence on the western limit of the state. This place is the entrepôt of the trade carried on between the states east of the Mississippi, and the far west. Steamboats convey to its piers the merchandise intended for the posts of the fur companies in the neighborhood of the

Rocky Mountains, or for Sante Fé, and other points in the Spanish territories. This is carried to its destination by large and armed caravans, who bring back to their starting point the returns in peltry and other products of the country, and sometimes from the Spanish trade in specie.

A period of more than five months passed in winter quarters afforded ample opportunity for studying the character of the Mandans, and for the observation and description of their ceremonies, field sports, games, and modes of life. From the first knowledge had of them by early travelers, this tribe has been regarded with more than ordinary interest. A complexion not so dark as that of the Indians in general, and heads of hair of various hues, instead of being uniformly black, furnished an argument in favor of an old story believed among the whites, which would make out the Mandans to be the descendants of a Welsh colony, who, under their prince, Madoc, sailed in the twelfth century for unknown shores. Their own traditions, and the remains of villages, from which they had been from time to time driven, trace them, in their advance to the present villages, along the banks of the Missouri, as far as from the Mississippi, and even to remoter points on the last-named river. Their habits are less roving, and manners more gentle, than those of the tribes who dwell in tents, and shift their camps at will over the wide extent of the prairies. The Journal ascribes great simplicity to their religious belief.

"The whole religion of the Mandans consists in the belief of one Great Spirit presiding over their destinies. This being must be in the nature of a good genius, since it is associated with the healing art, and the Great Spirit is synonymous with great medicine, a name also applied to every thing which they do not comprehend. Every individual selects for himself the particular object of his devotion, which is termed his medicine, and is either some invisible being, or, more commonly, some animal, which thenceforward becomes his protector, or his intercessor with the Great Spirit; to propitiate which, every attention is lavished, and every personal consideration is sacrificed. 'I was lately owner of seventeen horses,' said a Mandan to us one day, 'but I have offered them all up to my medicine, and am now poor.' He had in reality taken all his wealth, his horses, into the plain, and turning them loose, committed them to the care of his medicine, and abandoned them for ever."—Vol. i, p. 141.

This protecting genius, selected by every individual, Catlin represents under the form of a medicine bag—which is either the skin of the animal chosen, or contains what represents the charm. The term *medicine*, thus applied by the Indians, is from the French

medecin; but the Indian notion is better expressed by the word *mystery*.

Among the scourges which have thinned the Indian population, and reduced powerful tribes to a handful of people, none has been so terrible as the small-pox, not even excepting their mutual and unceasing wars. From a very early day travelers have described and lamented its ravages, which are still going on, notwithstanding the aids held out by science and humanity. Under this scourge of their race, and the hostility of the Sioux, the Mandan nation and name utterly perished in the year 1838.

The party met at the Mandan villages not only French traders, but also men in the employ of the Hudson's Bay Company, from their posts at the north.

The winter commenced early: the ice of the river, opposite to the fort, where it is five hundred yards wide, was strong enough, on the fifteenth of December, to permit the crossing of herds of the buffalo. In this and in the ensuing month the mercury of the thermometer frequently fell to 40° and 45° below zero. The men suffered much by being frostbitten; yet the spring advanced so rapidly that they were able to resume their voyage in a north-west direction toward the mountains on the seventh of April, 1805—a time at which the harbors of Lakes Ontario and Erie are yet obstructed by ice. By the return of the large boat with some of the men to the United States, bearing presents and dispatches, the party was now reduced to thirty-two persons, who embarked in the two pirogues and in six canoes. On the fourteenth they reached a creek, which was called by them Chaboneau's Creek, after their interpreter, who had once encamped on its banks with a party of Indians. "Beyond this no white man had ever been, except two Frenchmen, one of whom, Lapage, is with us; and who, having lost their way, straggled a few miles further, though to what point we could not ascertain."—Vol. i, p. 179.

The canoes arrived on the twenty-sixth of April at the junction of the Yellow Stone River and the Missouri, eighteen hundred and eighty miles from the Mississippi. In the year 1832, twenty-seven years afterward, Mr. Catlin arrived *by a steamboat from St. Louis* at this point, where he found a strong fort and trading station of the American Fur Company. On this spot no white man, before Lewis and his men, had ever set his foot. Here, and subsequently at the Mandan village, with that admiration of wild life which had drawn him from the schools of art in the city of Philadelphia, Catlin devoted himself to his favorite object, and transferred to canvass the portrait of many chiefs, and made sketches of

the wild sports and grotesque ceremonies of Indian life. A downward voyage to the Mandan village in a canoe, which stopped or went on at his pleasure, enabled him to trace the bold and fantastic bluffs which border the river, which words attempt in vain, and where florid descriptions, like mists and clouds, serve but to dim and confuse the landscape.

Early in the month of June the party under Lewis arrived at the junction of two streams of about equal promise. Doubts were entertained as to which was the true Missouri. Separate parties went out with Lewis and Clarke to trace the course of each. Lewis returned after much travel, hardship, and peril, satisfied that the river coming in on the north was not that which was indicated by the Indians; while Clarke, after tracing the southern branch, was not able satisfactorily to decide the question. It was therefore determined that Lewis, with a party, should follow the southern branch by land until they reached either the falls or the mountains. The name of Maria River was given to the northern branch. Clarke, who remained with the canoes at the point of junction with the Missouri, began the construction of cachés, that the heaviest of the baggage, and what other articles could be spared, might be deposited in them. The caché is common with those who traffic in the Indian country: the name is French, but the thing itself must have been long in use among the natives. A dry situation is chosen where the caché is to be made; a circular sod, of about twenty inches in diameter, is carefully removed; a hole of about a foot is sunk, an excavation is made below to the depth of six or seven feet, and is gradually enlarged as it descends; in shape it may be compared to an inverted kettle. The earth is carefully removed, carried off, and thrown into the river, so that no traces of it may remain. The bottom is covered, and the sides lined with dried sticks, with the additional guard of dried hides: when filled, a skin is laid over the goods, earth is thrown in, and beaten down, and the sod is carefully replaced in the spot from which it had been taken. Such contrivances are found among all nations at that stage of society when the inhabitants of each district are exposed to the marauding attacks of hostile neighbors, or the rapid incursions of more distant enemies. In Hindostan, where, from the earliest times, the inhabitants have lain open to the sudden inroads of a wild cavalry, recourse has been had to this subterranean mode of security. Stores of grain are deposited in this manner, and the Mahrattas, in their repeated incursions, often detected them by sounding or boring the ground.

The Hovas, a tribe in the Island of Madagascar, keep their rice

in circular excavations, five or six feet in diameter, and of like depth. The form of these rice pits resembles a bee-hive—the bottom and sides are lined with a coating of clay, which becomes hard and impervious to moisture ; the opening at the top is small, and is covered with a stone. The same form for their granaries is seen in the clay structures of the neighboring tribes, which have a height of about fifteen feet, with an opening at the top, to which the ascent is by steps notched in the trunk of a tree. There can be little doubt that the pit was at first contrived as a security against marauding neighbors. The Hovas are of the olive-colored race of the island, and resemble, in other respects, many of the inhabitants of the Polynesian islands, and are derived, most probably, from a common stock. Many inquirers are disposed to refer the Indians of America to the same. The similarity of the caché of the Indians, and the granary of the Hovas grew out of like necessities, and argues no intercommunication of the two people, nor a common race.

While Clarke applied himself to the construction of the cachés, Lewis started with four men on the morning of the eleventh of June, and after proceeding on that and the two following days over thirty miles with some deviation from the course of the river, “his ears were saluted with the grateful sound of a fall of water ; and, as he advanced, a spray, which seemed driven by the high south-west wind, arose above the plain like a column of smoke, and vanished in an instant. Toward this point he directed his steps, and the noise, increasing as he approached, soon became too tremendous to be mistaken for any thing but the great Falls of the Missouri. Having traveled seven miles after first hearing the sound, he reached the falls about twelve o'clock. The hills, as he approached, were difficult of access, and two hundred feet high : down these he hurried with impatience, and, seating himself on some rocks under the centre of the falls, enjoyed the sublime spectacle of the stupendous object, which since the creation had been lavishing its magnificence upon the desert, unknown to civilization.”—Vol. i, p. 222.

The river above the falls is three hundred yards wide, bounded on either side by perpendicular cliffs. The height of the falls is eighty feet. For several miles above the falls the river presents a succession of rapids and cascades. The length of the portage, which here became necessary, was seventeen and three quarter miles. The portage commences at the mouth of a stream called Portage Creek, and terminates opposite to Bears' Islands, so called from their being found the favorite haunt of the grisly bear. Cachés were made at each extremity of the portage, and the pirogue was laid up below the falls. Several pages are devoted to

the description of the falls, the rapids, and the portage, which have, besides, the illustration of two plates.

The delays occasioned by the transportation of canoes and stores across the portage, together with a failure in the skin covering applied to the iron frame of a boat, constructed at Harper's Ferry, on the Susquehannah, thirty-six feet in length, and of proportionate depth and breadth, and the necessity of supplying this deficiency by preparing canoes from poor timber, did not allow the party to embark on their upward voyage until the fifteenth day of July. The Journal for the month passed in the neighborhood of the falls, records not only great exertions called for by unwonted difficulties, but several exciting instances of peril by flood and field, and grisly bears, in the most alarming of which Captains Lewis and Clarke were separately concerned. On the first arrival of the party at the falls large herds of buffalo were seen as well above as below the falls; but not many days had elapsed before they disappeared almost entirely from the range of their camp above, though they still abounded below the falls. This neighborhood is a favorite spot with the grisly bear. The buffalos resort in large herds to the banks in order to drink; the passages to the river are narrow and steep, and the foremost are pressed into the stream by the impatience of those behind. In this way ten to a dozen were seen by Lewis's party to be carried over the falls at one time, furnishing a feast to the bears, wolves, and birds of prey.

While lying in the camp, opposite to the island named from the bears, these animals became very troublesome. They infested the close neighborhood of the camp, carried off buffalo beef attached to a pole, and inspired such apprehension, that the men slept with their arms by their side, and relied on the watchfulness of their dog for warning of the bears' approach. These bears never climb, and two of the men, perching themselves in a tree, nigh a copse of brushwood, where the tracks of a bear made them believe that one lay couched, roused him by a shout; he was shot, and is described as the largest yet killed; his fore feet were nine inches across, and the hind feet were seven inches wide, and eleven and three quarters long, exclusive of the claws.—Vol. i, p. 240.

Many were the encounters which members of the party had at various times with the grisly bear. The first, we think, mentioned in the Journal is when, on the twenty-ninth of April, the second day after leaving the Yellow Stone, Lewis was on shore with one hunter, they met two white bears. The dread with which the Indians regard an encounter with this animal is so great, that, armed with their feeble weapons, they never attack him but in

parties of six or eight, and even then are often defeated with the loss of one or more of the party. The bear rather attacks than avoids man, and the Indians, when they go in quest of him, paint themselves, and go through the superstitious ceremonies customary when they make war on a neighboring tribe. For an Indian singly to kill a bear is a greater triumph than the death of an enemy, and his claws are worn as a prouder trophy than a scalp.

In this first contest with these animals, Lewis and the hunter wounded them both; one made his escape, the other pursued the captain seventy or eighty yards; he had time to reload his piece, and on a second shot from himself, and a third from the hunter, the bear was brought to the ground. It was a male, not quite grown, and weighed more than three hundred pounds. This animal, which is at times called by the several names of white, brown, and grisly bear, is, some think, the same as the black bear; but it is a distinct species.—Vol. i, p. 189.

His tenacity of life is most extraordinary. Clarke and a hunter had an adventure with one, which, after five balls had passed through his lungs, and with five other wounds, swam half across the river to a sand bar, and survived twenty minutes. It was not until the approach of the party toward the base of the Rocky Mountains that the grisly bear made his appearance. No mention is made of him before leaving the Mandan village. On the tenth of April, the third day after quitting the winter quarters there, the tracks of the bear were first seen. Catlin, in his descriptions and paintings of wild Indian sports, in the vicinity of the Fur Company's fort at the mouth of the Yellow Stone, of which he was both a spectator and a part, gives nothing respecting this ferocious animal. On his return down the river from the fort, he describes the alarm of himself and two companions of the voyage, when they were startled in the morning by the appearance of a bear and her two cubs, which had been prowling round their little encampment through the night. The appearance of the male checked any desire they had for battle, and was followed by a speedy retreat to the river and canoes.

When at the great Falls of the Missouri

“a strange noise was heard coming from the mountains in a direction a little to the north of west. It is heard at different periods of the day and night, (sometimes when the air is perfectly still, and without a cloud,) and consists of one stroke only, or of five or six discharges in quick succession. It is loud, and resembles precisely the sound of a six-pound piece of ordnance at the distance of three miles. The Minnetarees frequently mentioned this noise, like thunder, which they said

the mountains made ; but we had paid no attention to it, believing it to have been some superstition, or perhaps a falsehood."—Vol. i, p. 746.

A note subjoined from the London Quarterly Review gives an account of similar noises, resembling the discharges of artillery, having been heard in the mountainous districts of different provinces in South America, which were ascribed by the narrators to the explosion of round stones about the size of a man's head, which, upon bursting, disclosed the inside, sparkling with precious gems and crystals. [Such specimens of stones, inclosing crystals, are to be seen in any mineralogical collection.] The experience of Mr. Hunt and party, when on their passage through the mountains, confirms the fact of the occurrence of such noises. A suggested explication of Humboldt that these reports may be occasioned by the disengagement of hydrogen gas by mines of coal in a state of inflammation, is given by the London Review. The note closes with an extract from the narrative of the Rev. Mr. Parker, who, in 1835, visited the Oregon Territory. This extract implies, and very strongly too, an incredulity in the existence of such noises, and that from the bare negative testimony of his own ears. Besides, his route was not on the same line with that of our travelers, or that of Hunt. At page 252 there is another distinct mention of these noises from the mountains being heard, when Lewis was out with some hunters: "They heard, about sunset, two discharges of the tremendous mountain artillery."

That these accounts of mountain noises are not derived from the superstitions of the natives, or the fabling of travelers, may be evinced from the narratives of those who have penetrated the recesses of the mountains which form the northern barrier of Hindostan. In "an account of Koonawur in the Himalayas, by the late Captain Alexander Gerard," distinct mention is made of these thunderings being heard, and which are supposed to proceed from the bursting of glaciers, or the falling of avalanches, and of rocks precipitated from the summits and sides of the mountains. In curious coincidence, too, with a custom of the tribes near the Rocky Mountains, the rude inhabitants of the Himalaya regions suspend fragments of cloth on poles set up on the crags as propitiatory offerings to the spirits of the mountains.

Having left the falls on the fifteenth of July, after more than a month's detention, they arrived at a pass in the river, to which they gave the appropriate name of the Gates of the Rocky Mountains. For five and three quarter miles dark-colored rocks rise perpendicularly from the water's edge to the height of twelve hundred feet;

the river, with a breadth of but one hundred and fifty yards, seems to have forced its channel through the rocks; for three miles the water was deep to the very base of the cliffs, with but one spot of a few yards where a man could find footing between the water and the perpendicular wall. At the outlet lay vast columns which had been torn from the mountain in the convulsion, which opened a passage for the waters. The party afterward proceeded in two divisions, by land and by water: they soon arrived at the head waters of the Missouri, consisting of three streams, to which the names of Jefferson, Madison, and Gallatin were given. The land party under Lewis, on the twelfth of August, reached the dividing ridge of the streams flowing east and west, and on the same day drank of the waters of the Missouri, and of the Columbia Rivers. Their course had been guided by an Indian road, which they pursued the next day, and after alarming, by their appearance, some straggling men and women who were shy at the sight of the stranger, succeeded, by presents of trinkets, in removing the fears of two females, who led them on the road till they met a band of sixty well-armed and well-mounted Shoshonees. These were the first Indians they had met with since leaving a hunting band of the Minnetarees, a little above the Mandan villages, in the month of April; although they had repeatedly seen Indian encampments, which appeared to have been recently occupied. As the troop of Indians advanced, Captain Lewis put down his gun, and went forward fifty paces with the flag. The chief, who, with two men, was riding in front, spoke to the women, who explained that the party was composed of white men, and exultingly showed the presents they had received. "The three men immediately leaped from their horses, came up to Captain Lewis, and embraced him with great cordiality, putting their left arm over his right shoulder, and clasping his back, applying, at the same time, their left cheek to his, and frequently vociferating, Ah-hi-e! ah-hi-e! I am much pleased! I am much rejoiced!"—Vol. i, p. 301. Notwithstanding that Lewis had smoked with Cameahwait, (such was the name of the chief,) with all the ceremonies which denote friendly feelings and intentions, he found him and his band, in his intercourse after the first interview, disquieted with apprehensions of some hostile design. An Indian and two women, whom they had seen at a distance early in the morning of the day on which they met the Indians, and who had fled at the sight of strangers, had spread an alarm that their enemies, the Minnetarees of Fort de Prairie, whom they call Pahkees, were advancing against them. Lewis, however, prevailed on Cameahwait and part of his people

to accompany him to the forks of Jefferson River, where he expected to find Clarke and the canoes.

One inducement held out to the Indians was, that they would find with the party below one of their countrywomen who had been taken prisoner by the Minnetarees. This was Sacajawea, the wife of their interpreter, Chaboneau, who had purchased her of the Minnetarees when young, brought her up, and made her his wife. As Lewis and his party approached the river, he met Clarke with Chaboneau and his wife, who had been just landed, and were walking on the shore. The demonstrations of joy which the poor Indian woman exhibited on recognizing her countrymen, and the warmth of affection with which she was embraced by a female who made her way through the crowd, and their mutual joy when they recognized each other as companions in childhood, and afterward as fellow-prisoners taken in the same inroad of the Minnetarees, are sufficient to rescue the Shoshonees, at least, from the apathy of feeling ascribed to the Indian character. To heighten still more the romance of her story, when brought into the tent to interpret between the strangers and her own people, in Cameahwait she recognized a brother. "She instantly jumped up, and ran and embraced him, throwing over him her blanket, and weeping profusely: the chief was himself moved, but not in the same degree."—Vol. i, p. 319.

The travelers remained for some time with the Shoshonees. The canoes were now to be abandoned, and superfluous baggage to be disposed of. Horses were to be procured, and preparations made for crossing the mountains to the Columbia, or for pursuing the course of the river to a point where canoes might be built and floated on its waters. In their intercourse with the Shoshonees, during this necessary delay, nothing occurred to lessen the mutual good feelings which grew out of the unlooked-for meeting of Sacajawea and her brother and friends. The Shoshonees are a small band of the nation called the Snakes, who are found in the southern parts of the Rocky Mountains and the plains on either side. Cameahwait's band numbered one hundred warriors, and about three times that amount of women and children. From the month of May till September they keep in their mountain retreats about the head waters of the Columbia, secure from the attacks of the Pahkees. While here, their subsistence depends on the salmon of the river, and the spontaneous supply the earth affords of roots and berries. When these fail them, they cross the mountains, and uniting at the forks of the Missouri with friendly bands of their own nation, or of the Flatheads from the west of the moun-

tains, they venture to hunt the buffalo in the plains through which flow the upper tributaries of the Missouri. Notwithstanding this precarious mode of life, with gaunt famine on the one side staring them in the face, and on the other the overpowering Pahkees, they exhibit a cheerful, and even a gay temper. Poor as they are, they are neither beggars nor pilferers. They are, says Lewis, frank, brave, and hospitable, and "their character has in it much of the dignity of misfortune." Hardly as they are beset by scantiness of food, they are rich in horses, arms, and clothing.

Before the main body left the Shoshonees, Clarke, under the conduct of a guide, made an attempt to cross the mountains. He found the obstacles to his progress insurmountable, and was obliged to return. On the thirtieth of August the whole company set out in a northerly direction, under the guidance of an old Shoshonee. They soon lost any distinct road, and took their course sometimes along a mountain stream, where they were obliged to cut a path through thickets of trees and bushes—sometimes making their way over rugged ridges. On the fifth of September they fell in with a band of Ootlashoots on their way to the three forks of the Missouri: on the sixth they came to a stream, to which the name of Clarke's River was given: on the ninth they struck a stream flowing through an open prairie. Through this prairie passes the great Indian road to the Missouri, so direct that four days' journey would lead the traveler to the extensive valley which spreads on either side of the river at the distance of thirty miles from what had been called the Gates of the Rocky Mountains, and which the canoes passed through on the twentieth of July. After parting from the Ootlashoots, the party suffered much from the ruggedness and steepness of their path, and more from cold and scanty food: even horse-flesh failed them. In order to obtain game, Clarke with a party went on ahead, and, on descending the mountains, reached, on the twentieth of September, the villages of the Chopunnish or Pierced Noses, under their chief, Twisted Hair. They were soon joined by Lewis. The heat of the weather proved oppressive to men exhausted with fatigue, and suffering from scarcity of food, and indifferent fare, and Lewis, Clarke, and several of the men were attacked with illness. The party began now to work on canoes; the horses, to the number of thirty-eight, were branded and intrusted to the charge of Twisted Hair. On the eighth of October they embarked on the waters of the Columbia. Their faithful Shoshonee guide, with his son, quitted them without notice, and without his stipulated reward; "but it was of no consequence,"

said one of the Chopunnish, "for his nation would not suffer him to bear it off safely."

The voyage down the Columbia was attended by the usual incidents of river navigation where there are found the obstructions of cascades and rapids. The banks of the river, nearly to its mouth, were never without the marks of actual or recent occupation by the natives. All these are duly observed and noted in the Journal. On the second of November they reached the tide water immediately below the falls; and on the sixth of November arrived and encamped on the shores of the bay at the entrance of the river. On the clearing off of a thick fog, in the course of the next day, they had a prospect of the Pacific, the utmost limit of a journey bravely and happily achieved. It was now the rainy season, and the discomforts of the party were not small. A spot was selected for the erection of winter huts on a creek which empties into an embayment of the wide mouth of the river which was named Meriwether's Bay, in honor of Lewis, without doubt the first white man who surveyed it. Here they remained through the winter season, which was diversified with storms of wind, rain, and sleet, until the twenty-third of March, 1806. A free intercourse had been kept up with the tribes of the coast, who were of inoffensive manners and easy tempers, and the monotony of winter quarters had been varied by occasional excursions to the coast, or into the adjoining country.

The party retraced their course up the river, and to the Chopunnish, where they recovered most of the horses left with the chief, Twisted Hair. Under the conduct of Indian guides they attempted, and at length effected, the passage of the mountains. When this was done, they, on the first of July, started in two divisions: Lewis with nine men directly for the Falls of the Missouri and Marias River; Clarke, with the remainder, for Jefferson River, with the intention of uniting again at or near the mouth of the Yellow Stone. This was not accomplished before the twelfth of August. While Lewis was in the neighborhood of Marias River, an attempt to carry off the horses by the Minnetarees of Fort de Prairie was the occasion of the death of two of the Indians, an event which long rankled in the breasts of that tribe. The united party arrived on the twenty-third of September, 1806, safely at St. Louis, "where they received a most hearty and hospitable welcome from the whole village."

The purchase of Louisiana by the United States was a source of much self-gratulation to Mr. Jefferson. This country was first

settled by the French, in the reign of Louis XIV., about the end of the seventeenth century. It was ceded by them to Spain in 1762; and again receded by Spain to France in the year 1800. Negotiations were soon after entered upon with the French government for its transfer to the United States, which was completed in 1803. By this transfer the United States obtained the undisputed navigation of the Mississippi, where it formed the boundary of the western territories, together with the possession of the city of New-Orleans. The discontents of settlers from the United States, who had early settled themselves along the banks of this river, were thus removed, and their interests closely entwined with those of the states lying east of them. Now that steam vessels boldly stem the current of this mighty river, the interests of the Atlantic states, and of those on both sides of the Mississippi, seem united beyond any ordinary possibilities of severance. This acquisition was well-timed. In the changes of dynasties and dominions, which the gigantic wars of Europe occasioned, this colony, whether of France or of Spain, might have fallen into other hands, and the cross of St. George be now waving over strong military defenses at St. Louis, New-Orleans, and the Balize. This addition of a vast territory, almost destitute of white inhabitants, was not only favorable to national harmony, but held out the prospect of a wider extension of our liberal institutions. Besides, there can be no question but that Mr. Jefferson contemplated with satisfaction a large diffusion of benefit to the native tribes, in the influence to be exercised by the government of the United States in extinguishing mutual feuds and hostilities, and in introducing the arts and policies of civilized life. The instructions so carefully drawn for the guidance of the leaders of the expedition denote that such was his purpose. But untoward circumstances throughout the whole time of his presidency interposed to defeat these views. Great virulence of party spirit prevailed throughout the United States. Mr. Jefferson himself (See Tucker's Life, vol. ii, p. 162) seems to think that Louisiana, with its unexplored wealth, whose acquisition was of such advantage to their common country, was regarded by his political opponents as the empty speculation of a vain philosophy. About the time of the successful close of the expedition, what is called Burr's conspiracy engaged much of national, and much of Mr. Jefferson's personal attention. Then followed commercial embarrassments and restrictions, which grew out of the high-handed and unjustifiable decrees and orders of the two great warring nations of Europe. Much bitterness of feeling was excited among ourselves by the

measures which the ruling party in the general administration resorted to for the averting or defeating of these evils. At this time Mr. Jefferson retired from the presidency, at the conclusion of his second term, which had been overhung by the dark thunder cloud of war without its lightnings.

Under the administration of his successor, Mr. Madison, actual hostilities soon took place between the United States and Great Britain; and while Indian was arrayed against Indian on the Canada frontier, little thought was given to the remote red man of the Missouri. When peace returned, the novelty and grandeur of the idea, that a great Indian population was dependent on the white man for much of good or of evil, had passed away, and the gradually advancing settlements of the whites were little calculated to foster mutual good will. The Indians, both within and without the old limits of the United States, have been driven from their ancient possessions. Like the early European discoverers of this continent, we hold ourselves to be lords paramount of the land, and are contented to look with apathy on the supplanting of the red man by the pale face as an inevitable destiny. The enterprise, sagacity, and industry of settlers from our Atlantic states, on or near Indian grounds, tend more surely to the utter extirpation of the Indian race than did ever the thirst for gold, or the exacting and life-wasting servitude of the early Spanish invader. Temptation is ever held out by the improvidence of the Indian to the spirit of fraudulent gain, and his imbecility of character invites continual encroachments. Under such circumstances what can secure to the Indians the rights of life common to all men, but shutting out the intrusion of cupidity in the shape of hunter, trader, or trapper? This can be done only by a chain of military posts along their frontier, and by the exclusion, with proper exceptions, of white men from their limits. Trading houses might be erected at certain points, where the Indians could exchange the products of the chase, or works of ingenuity, for articles of necessity, use, or comfort. This show of military strength on the borders, with occasional posts across the country, and some well-timed marches through the land, all under the direction of a principal with qualities of head and heart suited to the task, would do more to extinguish mutual animosities, hostilities, and plunderings, than volumes of civil enactments. Nothing but some such system as this can secure that spectacle, which some delight to contemplate, of the Indian retaining his simple manners in the midst of his hunting grounds, open to the kindest influences of religion, civilization, and humanity, and thus rescued from the combined and

mingled vices and miseries of savage and civilized life. This appears to be a necessary stage in the social existence of the tribes of the western prairies, if they are to be preserved in the shape of a people, in their advance to a higher state of cultivation. They might thus be gradually led to an agricultural life, and the occupations which it gives rise to, while the herds of buffalo, and the other beasts of game, become insensibly thinner upon the prairie, from the instinct which bids them retire from the advance of the white man and cultivation.

Public attention has of late years been much attracted to the region west of the Rocky Mountains. Narratives of travelers, accounts of trading expeditions, the annual reports from the missionaries sent out and maintained there by the zeal of the Methodist Episcopal Church of the United States, together with the occasional departure of parties of colonists from the shores of the Atlantic, or the western borders of Missouri, have all had a share in effecting this. The recent visit of the squadron, under Lieutenant Wilkes, and the loss of the United States sloop-of-war, the *Potomac*, at the mouth of the Columbia River, have imparted an additional interest to those shores. The citizens of the United States in the Oregon Territory are now said to be eight hundred in number. Petitions to congress in their behalf, and that of many residents in Missouri, have called for the action of the government. Lieutenant Fremont, of the topographical engineers, has, with a party, left St. Louis for the survey of the country, from the mouth of the Kansas River to the head waters of the Platte, and of the southern pass of the Rocky Mountains, with a view toward forming a chain of posts from the western bounds of the state of Missouri to the mouth of the Columbia. It is the intention of the government of the United States to extend to its citizens in that territory the jurisdiction of courts and the operation of laws, neither of which do they enjoy at the present time under any enactments of congress. While the jurisdiction of the courts and laws of Upper Canada, with the appointment of local magistrates, are extended to British subjects, and to the dependants of the Hudson's Bay Company in this territory, American colonists have to depend on voluntary regulations adopted by themselves, and suited to their condition. These movements seem to look to ulterior objects—as if the question of boundary, so long open, was at length to be settled. Yet it is said by the journals of the day that this boundary question is not to be brought within the present special negotiations.

The conflicting claims of boundary may be shortly stated. By

a convention between the two governments made in 1818, the forty-ninth parallel of latitude was agreed on as the dividing line between the territories of the two nations, from the Lake of the Woods, or the meridian of its north-west extremity, to the Rocky Mountains. No arrangement could be made as to a definite boundary west of the mountains; and it was determined that, for ten years, all territories claimed by either power between the mountains and the Pacific should be free and open to the subjects and citizens of both nations. In 1824 the question was again agitated without effect. The negotiations were renewed in 1826, when Mr. Gallatin was American minister at the court of St. James; the British commissioners then expressed their readiness to abide by their offer made in 1824, to admit the Columbia as the line of separation between the territories west of the Rocky Mountains, securing to the United States all that lies east of that river, and south of the forty-ninth parallel of latitude. Failing in subsequent attempts to effect a definitive settlement of the question, a convention was signed in 1827 by Mr. Gallatin and the British commissioners, that the article of the convention of 1818 should be further indefinitely continued, either party, however, being free, after 1828, to annul the agreement by the due notice of twelve months to the other. So it remains to this day, although repeated efforts have been made by members of congress, from states west of the Mississippi, to terminate this arrangement by some definite settlement. In this joint occupancy of the land, the Hudson's Bay Company have for many years past been growing in moral and effective strength. Their principal fort and trading station at Vancouver, on the north side of the Columbia River, numbered, in 1835, Europeans, thirty; Canadians and half-breeds, one hundred; and of families and slaves of the natives, to make up the amount of seven hundred and fifty to eight hundred persons. In the six or seven years that have since passed, this post must have increased in numbers and strength, to say nothing of the men stationed or employed at other points on the Columbia and its tributary streams, while the American colony has increased more in numbers than in combined and efficient strength.

Notwithstanding the persevering zeal and liberality of the M. E. Church, the prospects of the mission, as far as the native tribes are concerned, are not so flattering as could be desired. The character and condition of the Indians themselves account for this. They are generally of milder tempers and greater docility than the tribes east of the Rocky Mountains; but in qualities of mind and body they are inferior to them. Game is not so abundant, and

their subsistence depends, in a great measure, on salmon of the rivers, or fish of the sea-shore, and the spontaneous growth of berries and roots. And of such indifferent food there is frequently a scanty supply. Improvidence, and unsteadiness of purpose, seem to mark their character; and diseases, hitherto unknown to the Indians, which perhaps may be produced by the breaking up and tillage of lands whose soil was before undisturbed, are, with an appalling mortality, yearly thinning the numbers of the nation between the mountains and the ocean.

The valley of the Multnomah, the seat of the Methodist mission, and it is to be presumed of most of the colonists from the United States, is the most favored spot west of the mountains.

The Oregon Territory, as a whole, is not calculated to sustain a large population, or to carry on a flourishing commerce. Their principal harbor, the Columbia, has been signalized by many shipwrecks. The fur trade, both west and east of the mountains, must gradually exhaust itself. In the rainy season, the country along the coast is unhealthy; nearer the mountains, the elevated plains are liable to protracted droughts. These plains are less favorable for tillage than for pasture, say those who have examined the country; but this must mean, that deprive the soil of its grassy sward, and the dry and thirsty atmosphere will suck up all humidity, and utterly destroy vegetation. So drying is the air, that the grass of the country is cured on its stem, and affords hay to the horses of the Indians, and keeps them in fine condition through the winter. No grass is lost for want of curing, and being converted into sound hay; but this circumstance of the good case of the horses, is far from implying a fine country for pasturage—the inference is, that there is an almost unlimited range for horses, or herds of cattle. What is the destiny of this *ultima thule* of the American continent, it is at present impossible with certainty to predict.

New-York, July, 1842.

ART. VI.—*The Life of Wilbur Fisk, D. D., First President of the Wesleyan University.* By JOSEPH HOLDICH. 8vo., pp. 455. New-York: Harper & Brothers. 1842.

THE study of biography is one of the most engaging and instructive studies which can be pursued. The reason is obvious. It is the study of man. And what can more deeply interest man than the study of himself? We mean not those common-place biographies of every day's occurrence, in which we find nothing of a peculiar character to instruct us in the knowledge of human nature, containing, as they do, a mere dry detail of facts, which may be told of every human being, varying only in respect to the time and place of his birth, his age, and the circumstances of his death. These pall upon the mental appetite, and disgust us by their perpetual repetition. But when a person gives early indications of intellectual strength, grows up under the fostering care of divine Providence, gradually develops a mind of rare capabilities, exhibiting, on all occasions, an original genius in all his movements—and more especially if he give evidence that his heart has been sanctified by divine grace—and finally succeeds in accomplishing some grand design, we trace his life with increasing delight, are edified with the incidents of his onward course, and are made wiser and better by his instructive example. Hence the more general history abounds in the character and conduct of individuals eminent for their talents, who made an impression upon the age in which they lived, the more eagerly is it read, and the greater benefits does it produce. Nor can such biographies be too minute in their details. While studying the lives of such individuals, we love to enter into all their private and domestic affairs, to discover, as far as possible, their secret springs of action, and to become acquainted with all the means by which they rose to eminence, and accomplished their work.

These means of gratification are afforded, in some measure, at least, in the Life of Dr. Fisk. That he was eminent for the goodness of his heart and for many shining qualities of mind, will be evident to all who read the memoir before us. That he made an impression upon the age in which he lived, and that of the most hallowed and beneficial character, no one will dispute. And if we are not let into the secrets of his heart, on all occasions, it is not the fault of his biographer, but of the subject of the narrative, who left but few private memorials behind him, except such as are found in letters to individuals, and such as have been furnished by

his bereaved and disconsolate widow. These, however, are of the most sacred character, and exhibit the man in the privacy of domestic life, and unfold a character of loveliness and brilliancy of the most engaging and instructive sort. To the industry and fidelity of Professor Holdich are we indebted for collecting and grouping together many incidents in the life and labors of Dr. Fisk, not before known even to many of his friends, which will be read with delightful avidity by those who cherish in their memories a recollection of his many excellences, while the stranger will be struck with admiration at beholding imbodyed in a human being those qualities of the understanding and heart which adorned and dignified the character of this man of God.

With these general remarks, we hasten to give the reader a synoptical view of the work before us, and the manner of its execution. It is an octavo volume of four hundred and fifty-five pages, divided into twenty chapters, to which is prefixed a table of contents, denoting the several topics introduced into the memoir. The style is plain and perspicuous, such as all biographical writings should be, and the typographical execution is such as we might expect from the press of Harper and Brothers, fair and elegant.

So much for the general character of the work. As might be expected, it begins with an account of his parentage, his birth, and education, and gives interesting incidents of his juvenile days. Into these particulars it cannot be expected that we should enter in this brief review. It will be sufficient for us to remark, that the parents of Dr. Fisk, in the language of his biographer, "were illustrious only for their virtues," occupying the middle rank of the people in the United States, living by the fruits of their industry, and maintaining an independence in the state of Vermont worthy of the yeomanry of a country where merit is measured, not by the standard of artificial rank, but by worth of character, by virtue, industry, and economy. It was, however, honor enough for them to have given birth to such a son as Wilbur Fisk, and been instrumental in rearing him up for God, for the good of the church, and the world.

He was born in Brattleborough, Vermont, August 31, 1792. At a proper age he was put to school, and gave early indications of an intellectual strength which would, if suitably cultivated and directed, exert a beneficial influence upon community. Happily for young Fisk, his mind was early bent in the right direction by the assiduous care of a pious mother, and the skill of a useful teacher. Under such influences he became early imbued with a love of study, and with the fear of God. He finally succeeded in

attaining the honors of a college in the Brown University, which he received as the reward of merit, and which were not disgraced by any future act of his life. On leaving college, his inquiry was, "What profession shall I take?" After balancing the claims and hazards of several, he finally decided on the law as preferable to all others. Upon this he accordingly entered with much ardor. Having, however, but a feeble constitution, he found the study of the law too laborious, and was compelled to relinquish this pursuit; and he returned to the bosom of his parents in the state of Vermont, where he slowly recovered his wonted health, which, at best, was but poor. It was during this interval that his conscience was awakened by the Spirit of God to a keen sense of his lost condition by nature, and of the necessity of regeneration to fit him for the service of God here, and for happiness hereafter. He sought and found redemption in the blood of Christ. This created a new era in his history. His mind became deeply impressed that it was his duty to preach the gospel of the Son of God. After due preparation he entered upon this work with great ardor, and soon gave evidence that he was sent of God—to "warn every man, to teach every man in all wisdom, that he might present every man perfect in Christ Jesus."

It is not our intention to follow Dr. Fisk through all the walks of life in which he moved. Those who wish for particulars in this respect must consult the volume for themselves, and we think they will rise from its perusal, not only highly gratified with the manner in which the writer has executed his task, but also with a determination to devote themselves more exclusively to the service of that God who so abundantly blessed his servant. The following extract from the preface will show that the biographer did not enter heedlessly upon his work, but that he felt the difficulties of his position, and an examination of the volume will demonstrate that he has succeeded admirably in describing his "subject" in the various aspects in which his "diversified character and pursuits" presented him:—

"Those who are at all skilled in authorship well know that historical and biographical composition is peculiarly perplexing and laborious; and it will be obvious to all, on very slight reflection, that the labor of writing a biography depends very much on the diversity in the character and relations of the subject, for in proportion to these will be the demand on the author's resources, judgment, and skill. Had Dr. Fisk's life been devoted entirely, or even chiefly, to one pursuit, had his character possessed interest in only a single aspect, or were his biography to have been adapted to any selected class of readers, the writer's task would have been comparatively easy. But the life of any

man should be in accordance with his entire character and pursuits. In this lay the difficulty of our present undertaking. To depict correctly the diversified character of our subject; to trace his connection with the many important enterprises in which he was concerned; to give to each of these its relative prominence and just proportion; to adapt the work to the various classes in the community who may be supposed to take an interest in our subject; to present a just account of his share in the controversies in which he was engaged, without giving needless offense to those who differed from him, were some of the duties which rendered the author's task one of more than ordinary delicacy, and required no little thought and labor.

"One topic suggested above deserves, perhaps, to be made a little more prominent. Dr. Fisk was a man of erudition and literature, and, as such, was connected with the republic of letters. On the other hand, he was not less the man of the people. To have written his book exclusively for the former would not have been satisfactory to the latter, and to have written it entirely for the latter would have displeased the former, while in neither case would he have been true to his subject's memory. Whether the writer have succeeded in harmonizing these conflicting claims must be left for the reader to determine; but he wishes that this view of the subject may be kept in mind in deciding on the nature and merits of the work."

Accordingly we find him described as an obedient son; as a diligent and successful student; as a penitent sinner; as a happy believer; as a minister of the sanctuary; as principal of an academy; and then as president of a university; and in the mean time moving in the various circles of society, as a friend, a companion, and fellow-laborer in the field of human improvement; while he is called upon, in the order of divine Providence, to wield his pen in defense of truths and measures which he considered of vital importance to the welfare of the church to which he belonged, as well as to the world at large; to take a prominent part in the various enterprises of the day, such as the Missionary, Bible, Sunday-school, Tract, and Colonization Societies, all of which engaged a share of his attention. Nor must we overlook the more endearing relation of a husband, in which the domestic virtues shone out with a peculiar lustre, more especially in the estimation of her who now mourns her irreparable loss.

Let us look at Dr. Fisk in some of these aspects. And first, let us view him as a minister of the Lord Jesus. He was fully convinced that no man was competent, whatever might be his talents, or literary advantages, for this holy work, unless anointed with the *holy unction*, unless called and set apart for this labor by the Head of the church himself. Under a conviction of this truth, he entered upon his work. And that he gave irrefutable evidence

that he was *thus* called, and that he was fully qualified for the task, all who had the happiness of hearing him preach will undoubtedly acknowledge. Though the field of theological truth had been amply surveyed and highly cultivated before Dr. Fisk "put his hand to the plough," yet it was manifest to all who heard him that he thought, arranged, and digested for himself, and hence delivered his discourses fresh from the heart. He was indeed an original thinker. And he thought deeply and accurately. His sermons were not therefore made up of common-place observations; but were thoroughly digested, and so arranged and delivered as to enlighten the understanding and affect the heart. On some occasions, he entered upon a course of reasoning in support of his positions, which, though perfectly familiar to the man of science, seemed dull and uninteresting to the people at large, and they concluded that he "was not the preacher for them." But he generally made amends for these temporary deviations, by the warmth of his application of truth to the heart and conscience of his hearers, by which their feelings were aroused, and their affections enlisted on the side of truth. It was, however, evident to all, that truth was the object of his pursuit, and that he sought to apply it to the best interests of mankind. In doing this, on some happy occasions, he seemed to be carried beyond himself, and evinced an ardor of mind peculiarly befitting the subject, and every way becoming a devoted minister of the Lord Jesus; for he seemed absorbed in the sole concern for the salvation of those to whom he spake.

His talents as a preacher of righteousness were of a high order. He yielded his understanding to the dictates of the sacred Scriptures, and exemplified their holy precepts in his tempers and conduct. Wherever, therefore, he went, and whenever he preached, he was recognized as a chosen ambassador sent of God to negotiate a peace "'twixt earth and heaven," to beseech sinners to be reconciled to God.

But Dr. Fisk was also a literary character. About seven years after his entrance upon the ministry, he was called by his brethren to preside over an academy which had been recently established in North Wilbraham, Massachusetts. Here he began to display those talents for the instruction and government of youth for which he afterward became so eminently distinguished. Under his judicious management the academy rose in the public estimation, and finally acquired such a character in the community as secured for it a large patronage. It was soon filled with students, and has continued to prosper to the present day. In this office he labored

for five years, during which time the institution continued to rise in its literary and religious character, when he was transferred to the Wesleyan University, in Middletown, Connecticut.

At the first meeting of the joint board of trustees and visitors, which took place on the twenty-fourth of August, 1830, he was elected president of the university. Though he at first felt some hesitation respecting the propriety of accepting this responsible station, he finally concluded that duty called upon him to accept the appointment. He accordingly made the following reply to the official notice of his election :—

“ To the Joint Board of Trustees and Visitors of the Wesleyan University, now in Session in Middletown, Conn.

“ GENTLEMEN,—With a high sense of the confidence reposed in me by a majority of your board, in electing me president of your proposed university, I tender you my sincere and grateful acknowledgments. I have a deep conviction of my own inability to perform the important and responsible duties connected with this appointment. In accordance, however, with the judgment of my friends, and in reliance upon the cordial and united aid of the board, and of the colleagues which have been or may be appointed, and especially in an humble reliance upon Almighty God, without whose assistance the most gifted labor in vain, I will engage to the extent of my ability in the service of the board, in the discharge of the duties assigned me, so soon as I can, in honor and justice, disengage myself from my present relation to another institution.

W. FISK.”

Here he was called upon to exercise all the ingenuity which he possessed, to succeed in this new undertaking. Funds were to be collected, a faculty organized, scholars procured, and all this devolved chiefly upon the president. He entered upon his arduous work with wisdom and spirit, and finally succeeded in putting the institution into operation. It soon gained the public confidence, enlarged gradually its dimensions, and all seemed satisfied with its management. Every year's experience did but confirm its friends and patrons in the good opinion they had formed of its president.

In becoming the patronizer of institutions of learning, Dr. Fisk was actuated by motives of piety, as well as by a desire to promote sound learning. He knew, from painful experience, that learning without religion only qualified men to become the authors of the greater mischief, and that colleges which were not consecrated to God, by faith and prayer, were the nurseries of vice, and of course the corrupters of youth. Hence he commenced his career of teacher of youth by uniting the lessons of piety with lessons of human science. He uniformly impressed upon the minds of the

young gentlemen intrusted to his care the absolute necessity of an entire devotion to the service of God, in order to secure happiness here and hereafter, and that *sanctified* learning alone would fit them for permanent usefulness in the world.

In the government of the university, which indeed was committed chiefly to him, he manifested a paternal solicitude for the welfare of the students, inspiring their confidence by the wisdom of his administration, and winning their affection by the mildness and firmness of his admonitions and instructions. His influence on all, both professors and students, was of the most hallowed character.

His biographer gives the following graphic sketch of his mode of intercourse with the students :—

“He believed that, in order to secure dignity of conduct and manliness of character, it is necessary to inspire the youth with self-respect. To produce, therefore, in his mind a feeling of inferiority, he thought highly prejudicial. Hence he ever treated the students, not as boys, but as young gentlemen. He addressed them as such. He put on no magisterial airs. Though strict as a disciplinarian, yet, by always treating the students with respect, he taught them, in return, to respect themselves and him. He never demanded any marks of courtesy or formal expressions of reverence. He thought it better to leave this to the promptings of private feeling; believing that, if the sentiments and feelings of the student were properly trained, such expressions of respect as urbanity demands or custom sanctions would be spontaneously given, provided the teacher's own demeanor were such as to call them forth; but, in the absence of these, the enforcement of respect by statute, or the formal demand of it, would only create an empty parade, or perhaps awaken a spirit of resistance, more fatal to the authority of a teacher than negative rudeness. Perhaps on that subject a just medium may be pursued; for if, on the one hand, every thing is to be stiffened into shape by statutes, not only will the teacher know but little of the private feelings of the student, and so, under an outward show of respect, there may be a secret disregard for authority; and, on the other hand, if there be no attention paid to the manners and social observances, the student may be very indifferently qualified to perform his part in that circle of society with which his education qualifies him to mingle. Manners are morals; or, as the French say, ‘*les petites morales*.’ And hence, says the philosophic Paley, ‘Bad manners are bad morals.’ They take their rise from some defect in the nicer shades of character.”

While he thus appeared before the public as a minister of the sanctuary and as a teacher of youth, he was frequently called upon to advocate the claims of the various benevolent enterprises of the day. When the temperance reformation commenced its career of usefulness, Dr. Fisk appeared in its foremost ranks, and urged it on

with all his might, nor did he cease his efforts until he saw it triumph over all opposition, more especially in the church of his choice. Equally zealous was he in the grand missionary work. In this sacred cause he entered with all his strength, and often displayed, in his speeches at the anniversaries of the missionary societies, some of the most striking and brilliant specimens of genuine eloquence. In aiding these enterprises he fully believed that he was promoting the highest interests of man, and therefore threw his whole soul into the subject whenever he was called to plead in their behalf.

To the Bible cause, the Sabbath-school and Tract Societies, he likewise lent the aid of his talents, and exerted a hallowed influence upon their character and operations. It may well be supposed that a man who heartily espoused all these interests must have a continual drain upon his physical and intellectual resources, which must ultimately wear upon his constitution, more especially upon a constitution like his, enfeebled by disease of a chronic character. This his friends saw with no little painful anxiety, and often expressed a wish that he might spare himself from some of those exertions. To these friendly admonitions, if such they may be called, he had but one reply, and that was, "While I have time, I must do good unto all men."

One instance is given by his biographer of the spirit and manner in which he met these expostulations, which we cannot deny ourselves the pleasure of quoting. Speaking of his having attended the New-England Conference in 1838, where some perplexing business was transacted, in which Dr. Fisk took a deep interest, the writer introduces the following anecdote :—

" 'On his return home,' says Mrs. Fisk, 'he was more feeble than I had ever seen him, except when confined to bed.' This led to a touching incident in conjugal life, worthy the effort of a painter. Mrs. Fisk expressed her fears that his late exertions would lay the foundation of some fatal malady. His answer was, 'I hope not; after resting, I shall be better. I have, to be sure, been called to make great exertions in behalf of the church. I have done it conscientiously, and from a sense of duty. And,' added he, raising his eyes full in my face, with an expression I had never seen upon his countenance before, 'my dear wife, if my exertions could only be the means of uniting the church, I am willing my life should be the sacrifice. Is it too much to ask of you?' This was a trying appeal. Bursting into tears, she could only reply, 'I cannot feel as you do.'"

Such instances of self-sacrifice are as rare as they are commendable, and prove the depth and strength of that divine love which alone can inspire the heart with courage to make them.

We cannot have a perfect view of the character we are contemplating without looking at him as a friend, a companion in labor and suffering. "He that would have friends must show himself friendly." To maintain that independence of thought and judgment respecting principles and measures which becomes a man conscious of his individual responsibility to God and to the community, in the doing of which we must necessarily come in collision with others of equal strength of intellect and integrity of heart with ourselves, and yet retain for our antagonists the warmth of friendship, evinces a mind and heart deeply imbued with the spirit of Christianity, and a desire for human happiness which can be inspired only by the love of God and man. That Dr. Fisk manifested this spirit who can doubt that was acquainted with him? That he fully believed in the doctrines and discipline of the Methodist Episcopal Church, and that he was warmly attached to her ministry and peculiar usages, is most evident from all his words and actions. He preached and wrote in their defense. And yet his friendship was by no means confined to them, nor yet to those who gave evidence that they belonged to Christ. With these, to be sure, he held delightful communion. He loved them with a peculiar affection. But his heart embraced all mankind, friends and enemies. He therefore labored most assiduously to bring all within the reach of his influence to the possession of that divine love with which his own heart was fired and filled.

With his more immediate brethren, however, he was most cordial, frank, and affectionate in his attachments. And though sometimes compelled to dissent from them on some important points, he never allowed a mere difference of opinion to interrupt the sweet flow of brotherly love, nor yet to degenerate into a dogmatical assertion of his own judgment, as if he thought himself alone infallible. Indeed, no man ever paid a greater deference to the opinions of others, more especially to those whose judgments he had reason to believe were enlightened on the subjects under discussion.

This brotherly love did not descend to a vulgar rudeness in his social intercourse with his fellows, nor yet into a disgusting familiarity. Ever alive to the claims upon the several members of society, arising out of their relative situation, he was prepared to yield to them a suitable attention, and to observe those courtesies of conduct which age, station, or the relations of society have a right to demand. Understanding the nature and extent of these claims, he felt most keenly any violation of them by others, and

beheld, with suitable aversion, those deviations from the proprieties of life, so often manifested by the ignorant, the vain, and the self-conceited. Yet even for these his goodness dictated an apology, while it prevented him from betraying any want of brotherly love.

There can be no real friendship where there is a want of confidence. Hence in the circle of *friends*, where all is cast into a common stock for the benefit of the whole, there is none of that studied, cautious conduct, in words and actions, which indicates a fear of being betrayed by a traitor. All is frank and open. Hence the full flow of soul goes round the circle, by which all are refreshed. And this was the spirit of friendship manifested by Dr. Fisk. He was dignified, yet courteous; he was familiar, without rudeness; open and frank, without lightness; playful, often, without improper levity; and you felt that you were in the company of a brother in whom you could confide without any distrust, and could love without any fear of being betrayed.

That he could sympathize with a friend in affliction, is abundantly manifest from several of his letters found in the volume before us. And here, indeed, is one of the peculiar excellences of the work we are reviewing. The author has interspersed the biography with letters and extracts of letters, in which the writer poured forth from a full heart the purest sentiments of Christian friendship, the tenderest sympathies of a soul ever alive to the interests, the happiness, temporal and spiritual, present and eternal, of his fellow-men. These we consider the most valuable part of the memoir. They make us familiar with their author, because, especially, they appear to have been written without any expectation of being made public, and therefore contain the unstudied, spontaneous effusions of a heart overflowing with feelings of good will to man.

We had the happiness of a tolerably intimate acquaintance with Dr. Fisk. We have been with him in private circles and in public, have heard him preach often, heard him address public assemblies on a variety of occasions, and have been in council with him on some perplexing cases. We must confess that, though he sometimes betrayed the weaknesses which characterize human beings, (how indeed could it be otherwise, since he himself was encompassed with the infirmities of our common nature?) we seldom, if indeed ever, saw him off his guard, never manifesting hatred or ill-will toward any one, never speaking reproachfully of others without adequate cause, always cheerful and happy, even in the midst of difficulties of a most trying character.

We speak of him as a human being. As such he was, of

course, subject to the infirmities of human nature. And yet he triumphed over them. How did he do this? In the same way that St. Paul did. *We are more than conquerors through him who loved us. It is no more I that do it, but Christ that dwelleth in me. When I am weak, then am I strong, for the strength of Christ resteth upon me.* Here was the source of his victory. By the grace of God in Christ Jesus he triumphed over the world, the flesh, and the devil.

Let us view him for a moment as a traveler in foreign lands. In this capacity, however, we need say but little. He has published an ample account of his travels. To this the reader is referred for full information of his objects, the manner in which he pursued them, and of his ability in recording his impressions, and communicating his observations to the world. The rapid and extensive sale of the work speaks loudly in its favor, and goes far to refute the foul aspersions which were attempted to be poured upon it by a partial reviewer.

Dr. Fisk did not travel abroad merely for the purpose of gratifying an idle curiosity, in looking at the works of nature and of art, in the old world. Though no inattentive observer of these things, for he could view them with the eye of a classical scholar, yet his observations were more particularly directed to the literary, moral, and religious state of society, that he might be the better fitted to impart useful instruction to his countrymen. And certainly the observations which he made evince a mind well stored with ancient learning, as well as accurately informed on all subjects connected with the improvements of modern literature, of the arts and sciences.

Whether his travels were of any benefit to him other than as they tended to enlarge the sphere of his knowledge, and enabled him to instruct those who may consult his pages more perfectly in regard to the subjects on which he treats, may be seriously doubted. That they contributed to his health is not believed. On the contrary, the eagerness with which he sought information from every source within his reach, the labor of recording events and observations, coming in contact with men of intelligence, who were solicitous to gain his acquaintance, and to profit by a free intercourse, subjected him to that continual exercise of physical and mental exertion which gradually weakened a frame already sinking under the influence of an incurable and corroding disease.

On his return to his native land he most evidently bore marks of increased weakness, and the continual demand upon his time and attention afforded him but little respite from care, labor, and per-

plexity. In addition to the superintendence of the university, the responsibility of which he felt most sensibly, he was employed in preparing an account of his travels, in answering calls upon his time and talents by a variety of societies, literary and benevolent, all of which were desirous of sharing in the benefits of his exertions. These things, it may be supposed, tended to hasten the catastrophe, which had long been feared by his friends, but which all were anxious should be postponed as long as possible.

In referring to the publication of his travels we are reminded that he often appeared before the public as a writer. The first thing he published was a dedication sermon, which he delivered on opening a house of worship at Danville. It was first published at the request of those who heard it in pamphlet form, and was afterward inserted in the *Methodist Magazine*. It made a favorable impression upon the minds of those who read it respecting the talents and piety of its author. His next production was an election sermon, which he preached before the legislature of Vermont, to which he had been chosen chaplain. The pointed manner in which he enforced upon the legislators of his native state the necessity of spiritual Christianity, made a powerful impression upon their minds, and produced a most salutary effect.

From this time he appeared as an author before the public, in sermons upon particular occasions, in addresses, and other pieces of a miscellaneous character, all of which evinced that he held "the pen of a ready writer." These pieces were produced from the circumstances in which their author was placed. He did not therefore thrust himself upon the public attention with a view to court its favor or to win its applause, much less to obtain pecuniary reward; for we believe he never received any other compensation for the productions of his pen than what arose from a consciousness of having done his duty, until he published an account of his European travels.

That, however, which gained for Dr. Fisk the greatest celebrity as a writer, before the publication of his travels, was what has been called his "*Calvinistic Controversy*." This was also imposed upon him without his seeking. And the manner in which he conducted it, demonstrated that he was master of his subject—that truth, and not victory in argument, was the object of his pursuit. That his antagonists felt the weight of his arguments is manifest from the manner of their replies, for more than one entered the lists against him. In this controversy Dr. Fisk evinced the power of nice discrimination, of logical deduction, and

of wielding, with conclusive effect, a Scriptural argument in defense of the truth.

In all his writings, Dr. Fisk gave evidence of strong originality of thought, of deep reflection, of profound and accurate investigation. Though he wrote in a style natural and easy, plain and energetic, yet he seemed more intent upon the subject matter upon which he was writing, than upon the niceties and elegances of his style. Indeed he was sometimes quite careless of his style, and inaccurate in his quotations, owing, no doubt, to the haste with which he prepared his pieces for the press, and the vehemence of his spirit while engaged in composition. These, however, are minor faults, amply atoned for by the solidity of his matter, the prime importance of his subjects, and the plain and lucid manner in which he expressed himself on all occasions. And how much more highly are his writings to be prized for the qualities we have enumerated, than they would be if he had spent his strength in acquiring a pompous diction, in the use of far-fetched metaphors, high-sounding epithets, or had so nicely balanced every sentence, and every word in every sentence, as to deprive them of all their force and energy! This labored, measured, and unnatural style of writing, in which an author evinces greater solicitude for the arrangement and fashion of a sentence, than he does for the clear presentation of truth, in its own loveliness and brilliancy, manifests, in our humble opinion, a great want of correct taste, and much more regard for himself, for his own reputation, than he does for the interests of truth. And yet how disappointed is he in the end! Instead of establishing a reputation for elegant and good writing, he sinks in the estimation of all men of understanding and taste, while truth itself suffers by the meretricious ornaments in which he strives to decorate it.

Of none of these faults was Dr. Fisk guilty. He expressed himself in language plain and elegant, making his words reflect precisely the sentiments of his mind, without ambiguity or circumlocution, with an energy and directness which all must feel and appreciate. You have therefore only to read to understand him. Instead of having to labor, from the obscurity of the sentence, to ascertain the author's meaning, you are carried along with the utmost ease and delight, and are taken up chiefly in admiring the facility with which the author expresses himself, and in drinking in the truths which he utters.

But it is time to bring our remarks to a close. Those who wish for the particulars on which these general observations are founded, must consult the volume before us. They cannot read it with

attention, and with a "single eye," without being both wiser and more holy. We cannot conclude, however, without giving the reader a glimpse of the closing scene of this great and good man.

We have already seen that his health was declining apace, and that his incessant exertions in the cause of God must have contributed to hasten the termination of his mortal existence. He continued, however, to labor on so long as his decreasing strength would allow, and even after his confinement to his room, on the evening of the 5th of February, 1839, with the assistance of Mrs. Fisk, he sealed no less than thirty letters, which had been written for the benefit of the university.

He was at length informed by the consulting physicians that there was no probability he could long survive. This information he received with that calmness which bespoke a soul prepared to meet its Judge, although for a moment nature shrunk from the contest with the "last enemy."

The account given by the biographer of the last sickness and closing hours of this dying man of God, is such a striking evidence of the power of the Christian religion to conquer the fear of death, and to cause the soul to triumph in the near prospect of immortality and eternal life, that we should be glad, had we room, to give it to our readers. It is too long, however, for insertion. We must therefore content ourselves with giving the following extract, which may serve as a sample of that sublime spectacle which those beheld who attended him in his last moments :—

"Sunday, the 10th of February, was a day of uncommon interest and solemnity. There was not the least prospect of his recovery, so that it was not thought necessary to restrain him from conversing; and yet his strength was not so far exhausted as to prevent the free play of his mind and feelings. The scene in his chamber was transcendently elevating. In the morning he asked Mrs. Fisk what day it was. On ascertaining, he observed, 'This would be a good day to die.' 'Perhaps,' said Mrs. Fisk, 'the Lord will take you to his rest this day.' 'Then I can worship,' was his answer, 'with the sabbath-keeping band in heaven; but I cannot here.' On being told that he always loved the sabbath, 'Yes,' he replied; 'and though it was a day of toil to me, yet I loved my work. To me the sabbath has been an emblem of that promised rest. O, that rest is sweet! It is glorious!'

"He then beckoned Martha to him, saying, 'Let us pray together;' and, throwing an arm round each of them as they knelt before him, he offered up a prayer, gasping it out word by word, which seemed the very language of the spiritual world. It was deep, pathetic, powerful, sublime. Then, as they arose from their knees, he said, 'Vain human reasoners often tell us that the soul and the body will go down together to the dust, because the spirit is depressed when the body is; but it is

not true. These clogs of earth have often retarded the operations of my mind, and been as so many barriers to its activity. But I now feel a strength of soul and an energy of mind which this body, though afflicted and pained, cannot impair.

“ ‘The soul has an energy of its own; and so far from my body pressing my soul down to the dust, I feel as if my soul had almost power to raise the body upward and bear it away; and it will at last, by the power of God, effectually draw it to heaven, for its attractions are thitherward.’ Then, turning to Mrs. Fisk, he said, ‘Think not, when you see this poor feeble body stretched in death, that that is your husband. O no! your husband will have escaped, free and liberated from every clog! He will have new-plumed his glad wings, and soared away through the ethereal regions to that celestial city of light and love! What! talk of burying your husband! No, never. Your husband cannot be buried! he will be in heaven. His body may be; and let it go, and mingle with its mother earth: why should you lament? And yet I love this body, notwithstanding it has so often been a hinderance to the aspirations of my mind; for it has been an old companion of mine. It has cost me much care and pain, its tendency being continually to decay; and though it may lie long in the grave, it shall be raised, and I shall see it again; for I hope to be united with it, but with none of its infirmities, with none of its moral deformities. Yes, every particle of this dust shall be raised and changed, in the twinkling of an eye, on the morning of the resurrection. Then it will be freed from all its infirmities. It will have no lame limbs, no weak lungs. It will be refined from all its gross particles. It will be buoyant and ethereal, glorious and immortal! It will be perfect, for it will be fashioned like unto Christ’s most glorious body, and united with the soul for ever!’ ”

In this happy frame of mind, and with such sentiments, though variously expressed, did Dr. Fisk spend the remnant of his days on earth, and finally took his flight to the regions of the just.

We close our remarks with an aspiration to God that the bright and animating example of Dr. Fisk, both in living and dying, may excite all those who may behold it, as set forth in the memoir before us, to diligence in their respective callings, and induce them to seek after purity of heart and life, that they may finally participate with him in those *joys which are at God’s right hand for evermore.*

Wesleyan University, July 16, 1842.

ART. VII.—*The Great Awakening. A History of the Revival of Religion in the Time of Edwards and Whitefield.* By JOSEPH TRACY. One vol., 8vo., pp. 433. Boston, New-York, and Philadelphia. 1842.

MEMORABLE in the annals of America is the period to which our attention is directed by the volume before us. With much propriety is it called the *great* awakening. Its first dawn may be placed in the year 1734, and its meridian splendor in 1740. The materials from which our author has drawn are—Edwards' "Thoughts on the Revival of Religion in New-England," and his "Faithful Narrative;" Whitefield's *Life, Journal, and Letters*; Chauncy's "Seasonable Thoughts on the State of Religion in New-England;" Trumbull's *History of Connecticut*: added to these, he has availed himself of many pamphlets published during the time referred to; and gleaned among files of newspapers, preserved in the archives of historical and antiquarian societies. The volume before us is evidence of great industry; and the Christian public are indebted to the author for bringing together a vast amount of facts, which were scattered over a wide surface; and some of which would otherwise have passed into oblivion.

The first inquiry which naturally suggests itself, in contemplating the period under consideration, has reference to the previous state of the religious world. We cannot tell how *great* was the *awakening* unless we have some idea of the profound slumber into which the Christian public had fallen. On this point our author is perhaps not so explicit as he might have been. We gather, however, from his incidental allusions and remarks, that Christianity, at the time referred to, was, in this country, little more than a name. The all-important doctrine of the new birth appears to have been entirely lost sight of, even by the orthodox Congregationalists of New-England. Water baptism was generally esteemed as regeneration, and all who had been thus initiated into the visible church were regarded as true members of the flock of Christ. The Christian creed was adopted as a system, in the gross, and not in detail. All who did not openly and avowedly renounce it, were looked upon as disciples; and, provided they fell not into gross and scandalous wickedness, were considered as in a fair way to the enjoyment of life eternal. Added to this, if we take into consideration the favorite dogma of Calvinism—the perseverance and final safety of the saints—then almost universally prevalent, we shall

have a fearful view of the state of the religious world. Being baptized, they were regenerated; regenerated, they were, of course, Christians. As Christians, they might indeed fall away; yea, fall foully; but the creed came in—an ignis fatuus—to throw light upon their darkness, and all was well. They could not fall finally. How simple the process! How grateful to the unrenewed heart! Baptized, regenerated, in church fellowship, safe. Nor were these isolated cases. This was the general rule; others the exceptions. So early as 1707, the "venerable Stoddard," the grandfather of Edwards, and his immediate predecessor at Northampton, published a sermon, in which he maintained "that the Lord's supper is a converting ordinance;" and a year or two after, sent forth his "Appeal to the Learned; being a Vindication of the Right of Visible Saints to the Lord's Supper, *though they be destitute of a saving work of God's Spirit on their hearts.*" In this work, he adduces what he calls, "Arguments to prove that sanctifying grace is not necessary in order to a lawful partaking of the Lord's supper." According to Trumbull, the opinion was prevalent in Connecticut, half a century before the time of Stoddard, that "parishes in England, consenting to and continuing meetings to worship God, were true churches; and that members of those parishes, coming into New-England, had a right to all church privileges, though they *made no profession* of a work of faith upon their hearts."

One of the unavoidable consequences of this general theory was the induction of unconverted men into the ministry. The simple inquiry on this point soon became, Has the candidate education and suitable talents for the work? This, answered affirmatively, was deemed amply sufficient; and thus, the blind became leaders of the blind.

Frequent are the allusions made by Whitefield in his Journals to the alarming fact, that in his day many of the ministers of Christ were destitute of saving faith. On a certain occasion, he tells us, he was about to preach in the "Old South" at Boston. He had selected his subject, but perceiving a great number of ministers present, he felt constrained to preach from the Saviour's interview with Nicodemus. When he came to the words, "Art thou a master in Israel, and knowest not these things?" he says, "The Lord enabled me to open my mouth boldly against unconverted ministers; to caution tutors to take care of their pupils; and also to advise ministers particularly to examine into the experiences of candidates for ordination. For I am verily persuaded *the generality of preachers talk of an unknown and unfelt Christ;*

and the reason why congregations have been so dead is, *because they have had dead men preaching to them.*"

It must not be supposed, however, that there were no really converted men in the ministry of that day. On the contrary, many were eminent saints of the Most High; and Stoddard was an able minister of the New Testament, although his ecclesiastical practice was in strange contradiction to the doctrines which he preached. In accounting for this inconsistency our author refers to what he is pleased to call "a silent and gradual increase of Arminianism," and betrays great ignorance of those doctrines which Arminius defended and taught. We say great ignorance. Charity prompts us to attribute the remark to no worse motive, although we might with as much propriety speak of Calvinism as synonymous with fatalism, as baptize the errors of Pelagius with the honored name of Arminius.

A sermon preached and published about this time by Gilbert Tennent is remarkable not less for the severity of its tone, than for the necessity which called it forth, and the effects produced by it. It exasperated almost to madness those against whom it was directed, was widely circulated, and formed a subject of discussion for years. Whitefield deemed it an unanswerable production. It served, in a great degree, to open the eyes of the people to the danger of an unconverted ministry; and, in the opinion of our author,—“to no other human agency, probably, so much as to this sermon, is it owing, that Presbyterian ministers at the present day are generally pious men.” His subject was, “The danger of an unconverted ministry:” the text, Mark vi, 34, “And Jesus, when he came out, saw much people, and was moved with compassion toward them; because they were as sheep not having a shepherd.” We give a few specimens as transcribed by our author:—

“But what was the cause of this great and compassionate commotion in the breast of Christ? It was because he saw much people as sheep not having a shepherd. Why, had the people then no teachers? O, yes! they had troops of Pharisee teachers, that came out, no doubt, after they had been at the feet of Gamaliel the usual time, and according to the acts, canons, and traditions of the Jewish church. But notwithstanding the great crowds of these orthodox, letter-learned, and regular Pharisees, our Lord laments the unhappy case of that great number of people, who, in the days of his flesh, had no better guides; because that those were as good as none in our Saviour’s judgment.—Although some of the old Pharisee shepherds had a very fair and strict outside, yet they were ignorant of the new birth. Witness Rabbi Nicodemus, who talked like a fool about it. The old Pharisees, for all their long prayers and other pious pretences, had their eyes, with Judas, fixed upon the bag. Why, they came into the priests’ office for

a piece of bread ; they took it up as a trade, and therefore endeavored to make the best market of it they could."

His reasons "why such people, who have no better than old Pharisee teachers, are to be pitied," are in the same style. "Men," he continues,

"that do not follow Christ, may fish faithfully for a good name, and for worldly pelf ; but not for the conversion of sinners to God. Is it reasonable to suppose, that they will be earnestly concerned for others' salvation, when they slight their own? The apostle Paul thanks God for counting him faithful, and putting him into the ministry ; which plainly supposes that God Almighty does not send Pharisees and natural men into the ministry ; for how can these men be faithful that have no faith? It is true, men may put them into the ministry, through unfaithfulness or mistake ; or credit and money may draw them ; and the devil may drive them into it, knowing, by long experience, of what special service they may be to his kingdom in that office ; but God sends not such hypocritical varlets."

To the objection that "Judas was sent by Christ," he replied :—

"I fear that the abuse of this instance has brought many Judases into the ministry, whose chief desire, like their great grandfather, is to finger the pence, and carry the bag. But let such hireling, murderous hypocrites take care that they do not feel the force of a halter in this world, and aggravated damnation in the next."

Edwards, in his "Faithful Narrative," thus speaks of the religious state of the people at Northampton at the time of commencing his pastoral care over them :—

"The greater part seemed to be at that time very insensible of the things of religion, and engaged in other cares and pursuits. Just after my grandfather's death, it seemed to be a time of extraordinary dullness in religion : licentiousness for some years greatly prevailed among the youth of the town ; they were, many of them, very much addicted to night-walking, and frequenting the tavern, and lewd practices, wherein some by their example exceedingly corrupted others. It was their manner very frequently to get together, in conventions of both sexes, for mirth and jollity, which they called frolics ; and they would often spend a greater part of the night in them, without regard to any order in the families they belonged to : and indeed family government did too much fail in the town."—*Faithful Narrative*, p. 33.

Those of whom this language is used were church members ; and we may infer that in places where the people were not favored with the piety and zeal of such men as "grandfather Stoddard" matters were much worse.

Such, then, was the state of the religious world in America at
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the time referred to; such the spiritual slumber, the lethargy, the death of the churches from which the celebrated Jonathan Edwards was, under God, the instrument of producing a "great awakening." The immediate occasion of its commencement, according to our author, was a series of sermons, on the doctrine of justification by faith. With reference to these sermons, Edwards himself says in his "Faithful Narrative:—

"Although great fault was found with meddling with the controversy in the pulpit, by such a person, and at that time, and though it was ridiculed by many elsewhere, yet it proved a word spoken in season here; and was most evidently attended with a very remarkable blessing of Heaven to the souls of the people in this town. They received thence a general satisfaction with respect to the main thing in question, which they had been in trembling doubts and concern about; and their minds were engaged the more earnestly to seek that they might come to be accepted of God, and saved in the way of the gospel, which had been made evident to them to be the true and only way. And then it was, in the latter part of December, (1734,) that the Spirit of God began extraordinarily to set in, and wonderfully to work among us; and there were, very suddenly, one after another, five or six persons who were to all appearance savingly converted, and some of them wrought upon in a very remarkable manner."—*Faithful Narrative*, pp. 36, 37.

From these observations it seems that the doctrine of justification by faith was at that time a novelty; and that it was regarded as dangerous by some, and by others as a fit subject for ridicule. It would be an interesting question—had we the means satisfactorily to answer it—to inquire, how it came to pass that the mind of Edwards was led to this cardinal doctrine? He had been, at this time, several years in the ministry; and it does not appear, that previously, his own attention had been sufficiently turned to this subject to make it a theme of pulpit discussion. It will be remembered that more than five years previous to this, namely, in 1729, the Wesleys, with their associates in England, obtained the name of Methodists; and about the same time, the United Brethren or Moravians attracted attention in the same country, by their fearless advocacy of the doctrine under consideration. It is exceedingly probable, therefore, that Edwards in America had heard of these things; and although it was the common cant of the day, as it is even now, to charge both Methodists and Moravians with holding the obnoxious doctrine of Arminianism, meaning by the phrase Pelagianism, yet Edwards had sufficient acumen, at length to perceive that theirs was the true doctrine, and mighty in effecting that change of heart which the Scriptures enjoin. Indeed, he

tells us as much himself. "About this time," he says—namely, just previous to the delivery of the sermons referred to—"About this time began the great noise that was in this part of the country about Arminianism, which seemed to appear with a very threatening aspect upon the interest of religion."—*Faithful Narrative*, p. 36.

"It appeared with a very threatening aspect upon the interest of religion!" No doubt of it. It always does, when caricatured into a bugbear by those who, in ignorance or willfully, represent it as advocating what it expressly condemns. It so happens, moreover, that the sermons of President Edwards have come down to our times, and we have no hesitation to declare that those among them which produced the greatest effect upon his hearers are, in very truth, Arminian; or, if our brethren hate the phrase more, Methodist. The simple truth is, that at this time Edwards materially changed his style of preaching; and instead of treating his hearers to the chilling abstractions of predestination, the comforting opiates of election, or the lullaby of final perseverance, began boldly to offer a free salvation, to magnify the atoning merits of Christ, and to insist upon the necessity of a knowledge of sins forgiven. We do not mean that Edwards abandoned the peculiarity of his views, or repudiated his Calvinistic tenets, but simply that he kept them in the back-ground, and, as has been the case from that day to the present among revivalists of that order, he began—in the common language of the people of his own faith—to preach like a Methodist.

It is worthy of note, too, and a fact which has not been prominently brought forward by his biographers, that Edwards had some very correct ideas of the glorious but vilified doctrine of Christian perfection. In his own personal narrative we find the following remarkable passage:—

"Once as I rode out in the woods in 1737, I had a view that, for me, was extraordinary, of the glory of the Son of God, as Mediator between God and man, and his wonderful, great, full, pure, and sweet grace and love, and meek and gentle condescension. This grace, that appeared so calm and sweet, appeared also great above the heavens. The person of Christ appeared ineffably excellent, with an excellency great enough to swallow up all thought and conception; which continued, as near as I can judge, about an hour, and kept me the greater part of the time in a flood of tears, weeping aloud. I felt an ardency of soul to be, what I know not how otherwise to express, emptied and annihilated; to lie in the dust, and to be full of Christ alone; to love him with a holy and pure love; to trust in him; to live upon him; to serve and follow him; and to be perfectly sanctified, and made pure, with a divine and heavenly purity."

There can be no doubt, we think, that at this time he was not far from the enjoyment of this great blessing. This ardency of soul to be full of Christ alone, to be perfectly sanctified and made pure—what was it but that hungering and thirsting after righteousness which, according to the Saviour's declaration, is the only prerequisite to the enjoyment of the fullness of God? And what hindered? Evidently nothing but the writer's own rigid creed, and the metaphysical difficulties thrown in his way by his own philosophy.

The awakening spread with rapidity throughout Northampton. Worldly business was in a great degree neglected, and the inquiry, What must I do to be saved? became general. In about six months from its commencement, Edwards reckoned more than three hundred converts within the bounds of his own parish; and among them were persons of all classes in society, and of all ages, from the infant of four years to the old man of threescore and ten. Some of the cases were very remarkable, and as the report spread, Edwards tells us, the revival was a subject of ridicule for many, while others "seemed not to know what to make of it," and "some compared what we called conversions to certain distempers." Multitudes, however, who visited the scene of these wonders were very differently affected, and were themselves awakened and brought to repentance. These carried with them the hallowed flame into the neighboring regions, and—we quote from our author—

"in March, 1735, the revival began to be general in South Hadley, and about the same time in Suffield. It next appeared in Sunderland, Deerfield, and Hatfield; and afterward at West Springfield, Long Meadow, and Enfield; and then in Hadley, Old Town, and in Northfield. In Connecticut, the work commenced in the first parish, in Windsor, about the same time as at Northampton. It was remarkable at East Windsor, and 'wonderful' at Coventry. Similar scenes were witnessed at Lebanon, Durham, Stratford, Ripton, New-Haven, Guilford, Mansfield, Tolland, Hebron, Bolton, Preston, Groton, and Woodbury."

About this time, under the ministry of Blair, at New-London-derry, in Pennsylvania; and of Gilbert Tennent, at New-Brunswick, in New-Jersey, similar results were visible. On the arrival of Whitefield from the south, in November, 1739, he found the way of the Lord prepared, and the field indeed white unto the harvest. He preached with great success to listening thousands at nearly all the intermediate places until his arrival at Newport, in Rhode Island, on the 14th of September, 1740. This was his

first visit to New-England, whither he had come upon the urgent solicitation of many of the most eminent ministers of the day. The impression that his coming would be followed by a great revival of religion appears to have been general. "There is even reason to suspect," says our author, "that the manifestation of a revival, which was already secretly at work in men's hearts, was kept back for several months, by the general feeling, that it would take place when Whitefield came, and not before." Nor were they disappointed. Under the labors of this eminent disciple of the Wesleys, the flame spread far and wide throughout New-England. Wherever he went he was surrounded by listening thousands, the churches were insufficient to contain his hearers, and very frequently he had, to use his own language, a hill for his pulpit, and the heavens for a sounding-board.

It is not our intention to follow the career of this zealous herald of the cross; but we recommend the work named at the head of this article to those who are desirous of obtaining a correct knowledge of the different fields of his labors, and of the astonishing success by which they were owned of God. The author has taken great pains to be accurate in his statements of facts; and has corrected many errors into which previous writers had fallen. As a matter of course, he endeavors to inculcate the peculiarities of Calvinism; and is exceedingly keen-scented in discovering every thing that in his opinion savors of Arminianism. Yet is he too honest to conceal the fact that Whitefield "refrained from preaching the doctrine of election," not indeed because he disbelieved it, but because he doubted its expediency. The same is true of the kindred doctrine of reprobation. No man in his senses ever deemed it expedient to dilate much on *that* doctrine where sinners were anxiously inquiring the way of salvation.

In the progress of this great and glorious revival many things occurred which were a source of grief to those engaged in its promotion, and were used as arguments against it by those who would not see in it the hand of God. Strong cries and groans were frequent in the assemblies of the saints. Fainting fits were common. Many were thrown into ecstasies, and shouted aloud for joy. Some were entranced for hours, if not days, and had strange visions of the glories of heaven and of Christ. Others in the same state declared, when their natural strength returned, that they had visited the caverns of the damned. We extract a few instances from our author. The first is from Whitefield's Journal. It is his own account of a sermon preached by him in New-York, on Sunday, November 2, 1740. He says,—

"After I had begun, the Spirit of the Lord gave me freedom, till at length it came down like a mighty rushing wind and carried all before it. Immediately the whole congregation was alarmed. Shrieking, crying, weeping, and wailing were to be heard in every corner, men's hearts failing them for fear, and many falling into the arms of their friends."

Again, at Baskenridge, in New-Jersey, on the following Wednesday,—

"I had not discoursed long, but the Holy Ghost displayed his power; in every part of the congregation, somebody or other began to cry out, and almost all melted into tears.—A little boy, seven or eight years old, began to weep as though his little heart would break. Mr. Cross having compassion on him, took him up into the wagon, which so affected me, that I broke from my discourse, and told the people the little boy should preach to them; and that God, since old professors would not cry after Christ, had displayed his sovereignty, and out of an infant's mouth was perfecting praise. God so blessed this, that a universal concern fell on the congregation again. Fresh persons dropped down here and there, and the cry increased more and more."

The pastors of the first and second churches in Wrentham, in giving a more particular account of the work of God in that place, observe,—

"There have been not a very few among us, within seven or eight months past, that have cried out with great agonies and distress, or with high joy on spiritual accounts, and that in time of religious exercises."

The Rev. Jonathan Parsons, of Lyme, Conn., was one of the most zealous promoters of the revival. At his ordination he renounced the Saybrook platform, and took for his rule "the general platform of the gospel." He had heard of the successful labors of Whitefield and Tennent. Unlike many of his brethren, he inquired into the matter, and became satisfied that the work was of God. His testimony is as follows:—

"While I was preaching from Psalm cxix, 59, 60, I observed many of the assembly in tears, and heard many crying out in very great bitterness of soul, as it seemed then by the sound of voices. When sermon was over, I could better take notice of the cause; and the language was to this purpose, viz.: Alas! I'm undone; I'm undone! O, my sins! How they prey upon my vitals! What will become of me? How shall I escape the damnation of hell? And much more of a like import. It is true, outcries were new and surprising at this time; but knowing the terrors of the Lord, I was satisfied that they were but what might be reasonably accounted for, if sinners were under a true sense of their sins, and the wrath of a sin-hating God."

On another occasion, under a sermon from Matt. xxiv, 37-39, he says,—

“Many had their countenances changed; their thoughts seemed to trouble them, so that the joints of their loins were loosed, and their knees smote one against another. Great numbers cried out aloud in the anguish of their souls. *Several stout men fell as though a cannon had been discharged, and a ball had made its way through their hearts.* Some young women were thrown into hysteric fits. The sight and noise of lamentations seemed a little resemblance of what we may imagine will be when the great Judge pronounces the tremendous sentence of ‘Go, ye cursed, into everlasting fire.’”

The same effects were produced by the preaching of Parsons in other places; for, like Whitefield and the Tennents, he itinerated, though not to the same extent, from place to place. He appears to have been not only zealous, but exceedingly prudent, although many of his brethren in the ministry regarded him as a fanatical enthusiast. In a sermon, published by him, entitled a “Needful Caution in a Critical Day,” he endeavored to guard his people against those errors, both doctrinal and practical, into which many had fallen during the progress of the revival in other places; to warn them, on the one hand, against despising or ridiculing the work of grace, because some things were new and strange; and, on the other, to caution them against mistaking those disorderly irregularities as an essential part of that work. “While you stand amazed,” says he, “at the rings of the wheels as things too high and dreadful for you; while you know not what to make of the effusions of the Holy Spirit, but are blundering at every thing amiss, where God is working a work of his astonishing grace before your eyes, which you will not believe; beware lest that come upon you which is spoken of by the prophet, ‘Behold, ye despisers, and wonder, and perish.’ Let me warn and caution the children of God,” he continues, “that they carefully watch against every thing in principle and practice that has a tendency to bring any blemishes upon the work of divine grace, or to open the mouths of gainsayers, and be a stumbling block in the way of their giving credit to the truth of it.”

The Rev. George Griswold, pastor of a church in the neighborhood of Parsons, gives, substantially, the same account of what he calls “unusual circumstances,” although he was satisfied that “as to the substance of it, it was the work of God.” “Some,” says he, “had fits; some fainted; and it was observable that God made use of the concern in some to create a concern in others.”

At Northampton, as might be supposed, under the pungent

preaching of Edwards, similar scenes were very frequent. He says,—

“It was not the manner here to hold meetings all night, as in some places, nor was it common to continue them till very late in the night; but it was pretty often so that there were some that were so affected, and their bodies so overcome, that they could not go home, but were obliged to stay all night at the house where they were. It was a very frequent thing to see a house full of outcries, faintings, convulsions, and such like, both with distress, and also with admiration and joy. There were some instances of persons lying in a sort of trance, remaining for perhaps a whole twenty-four hours motionless, and with their senses locked up; but in the mean time under strong imaginations, as though they went to heaven, and had there a vision of glorious and delightful objects.”

A remarkable instance is mentioned in the private journal of Rev. Ebenezer Parkman, of Westborough, Mass. We give it in his own words:—

“Mr. James Fay came for me to go and see Isaiah Pratt, who lay in a strange condition at his house, not having spoke nor been sensible since nine o'clock last night. I went to him, and seeing him lie so insensible, and his pulse *exceeding slow*, I advised them to send for Dr. Gott, to bleed him; but sitting by him, and rousing him, by degrees he came to. Many were present, and were astonished. When he regained his senses, he said he had not been asleep, had seen hell, and seen Christ; and said Christ told him his name was in the book of life,” &c.

But enough of this. Similar scenes have been witnessed, and the like occurrences have been observed, to a greater or less extent, in almost every genuine revival of religion. It is an exceedingly difficult question to decide how much reliance is to be placed on these external manifestations. On the one hand, there can be no denial of the fact, that as the wind bloweth where it listeth, so the operations of the Holy Spirit are not subject to human laws or to be controlled by the wisdom of man. On the other hand, it is equally clear that human imperfections will insensibly mingle with, and mar the work of grace; and that many, in such seasons, will run into the extremes of fanaticism, and mistake sparks of their own kindling for fire from the altar of God. It is evident, too, that at those times, and in those places where the Spirit is plenteously poured out, the grand adversary will not be idle. The enemy who soweth tares among the wheat is subtle as well as powerful. He can, at will, assume the garb of an angel of light. When he cannot prevent the word of life from taking effect, he can, by his influence upon the human mind, produce effects in

some degree resembling those of the Holy Spirit. The sorcerers and the magicians of Egypt imitated the miracles of God wrought by the hand of Aaron; and it is not too much to suppose, that some of those fainting fits, and contortions, and screamings, were produced by the same agency. The object was to throw discredit upon the work of the Almighty—to bring the revival into disrepute, and to induce the belief that the whole was the work of the devil. Many, who were, to all appearance, most violently wrought upon, gave evidence afterward that they had undergone no saving change. They returned, like the dog, to his vomit; while others, upon whom the grace of God fell like the gentle dew from heaven, evinced, by their subsequent life and conversation, that they had indeed passed from death unto life. Universally applicable, therefore, is the Saviour's rule: "By their fruits ye shall know them;" and of incalculable importance a season of probation previous to the admission into the fold of Christ of any man, whatever may be his experience or his profession.

In the ministry of that day, there were also those whose zeal outran their knowledge: who, puffed up with their success, and living upon the increasing homage of their admirers, ran headlong into all manner of excesses and extravagances. Among these, James Davenport, pastor of the church at Southold, on Long Island, occupies a conspicuous place. He was a great favorite of Whitefield, who, in his Journal, styles him "a dear minister of the blessed Jesus," and declares that he "never knew one keep so close a walk with God as Mr. Davenport." Tennent affirmed him to be one of the most heavenly men he ever was acquainted with, and in the opinion of others, for heavenly communion and fellowship with the Father and with his Son Jesus Christ, he was even ahead of Whitefield himself. In the opinion of a grand jury, before whom he was summoned for his extravagances, he was pronounced *non compos mentis*, and the reader will be inclined to agree with their verdict, notwithstanding the high estimate placed upon him by his admirers. On one occasion, he addressed his people for almost twenty-four hours together; with what effect on them we are not told, but the effect on himself was a dangerous illness, which confined him several days to his chamber. The patience on their part must have been quite as wonderful as his "gift of continuance." He professed to work miracles. The following is an instance of his success in that line, as given by our author:—

"A woman in an adjoining parish had been long insane, and for some time dumb. Davenport fasted and prayed for her recovery, and

gave out that she would recover on a certain day that he named. On that day she died. He claimed the event as an answer to his prayer, as she was relieved from her infirmity by being taken to heaven. This was in the summer of 1740; not far from the time when Whitefield saw him, and was so much pleased with his piety."

And now it became impressed on his mind that he should go forth as an itinerant. As Jonathan and his armor-bearer went to the camp of the Philistines, so he, and one Barber, known ever afterward as Davenport's armor-bearer, started forth to rout the army of the aliens. They took no money, nor change of apparel, nor yet shoes, but were shod with *boots*. Their first visit was to Easthampton, wading thitherward up to their knees in snow, the very counterpart, as they supposed, of Jonathan and his armor-bearer climbing the hill on their hands and knees to meet the Philistines. The result of their labors there, was said to be the conversion of twenty souls. He had a peculiar faculty for sowing dissensions, and creating divisions in the different churches to which he gained access. Those ministers who would not open their pulpits for him, he denounced, in unmeasured terms, as ungodly hirelings; and the state of the public mind was such as favored every thing that had the appearance of superior sanctity. In the progress of his travels, it was his custom to call on every minister, and demand an account of his religious experience. If any refused to give it, or if it was not to him satisfactory; or if any were so hardy as to oppose his movements, straightway he denounced them as unconverted; summoned the people to the fields, which he called going forth without the camp, bearing the reproach of Jesus, and there warned them against wolves in sheep's clothing. The last recorded outbreak of his fanaticism occurred at New-London, whither he had gone by invitation of his partisans, to organize a pure church. In obedience, as he said, to messages from God, he commenced the work of purification by ordering "wigs, cloaks, and breeches, hoods, gowns, rings, jewels, and necklaces to be brought together into his room, and laid in a heap, that they might, by his solemn decree, be committed to the flames. To this heap he added the pair of plush breeches which he wore into the place." He ordered, also, that all books in their possession, written by such authors as he denounced, should be added to the pile. Among these, were the works of Flavel, Beveridge, Mather, and others. With great solemnity a blaze was kindled on the wharf, amid a chorus of hallelujahs and shouts of glory to God.

It is impossible, at this day, to form an adequate estimate of the

evils resulting from the wild vagaries of this fanatic. He stood high, as we have seen, in the good opinion of Whitefield and the Tennents; and to thwart him, therefore, was, in the estimate of many, to oppose *them*, and, by consequence, to be ranked among the enemies of "the great awakening." He had not only numerous followers, but also many imitators, who, without his learning, readily imbibed the bitterness of his denunciatory style. To stay this evil, so far as it was in their power, the ministers of various churches, in their associate capacity, drew up "Declarations," and sent them forth to the public, setting forth his conduct, the evils resulting from it, and the reasons for their own course toward him and his compeers. The "Declaration" of the associated pastors of Boston and Charlestown is written in a truly Christian spirit. They bear testimony to the "great and glorious work of God which he has begun, and is carrying on in many parts," and "beseech him to preserve, defend, maintain, and propagate it in spite of all the devices of Satan against it, of one kind or other." They speak of Davenport with great kindness; and give reasons for refusing to invite him to their pulpits, which, to every unprejudiced mind, must have been satisfactory. This, however, was far from being the case with great multitudes. The Rev. Thomas Prince, one of the signers of this Declaration, says, (we quote from the "Christian History," vol. ii, p. 408,)

"Upon publishing it on Friday, many were offended: and some days after, Mr. Davenport thought himself obliged to begin in his public exercises to declare against us also; naming some as unconverted, representing the rest as Jehoshaphat in Ahab's army, and exhorting the people to separate from us: which so diverted the minds of many from being concerned about their own conversion, to think and dispute about the case of others, as not only seemed to put an awful stop to their awakenings, but on all sides to roil our passions, and *provoke the Holy Spirit, in a gradual and dreadful measure, to withdraw his influence.*"

To heighten the conflict, the admirers of Davenport sent forth *their* manifestoes; and a "Reply to the Declaration" was published by Croswell, a pastor in good standing at Groton, Conn. He says,—

"Let no one dare to do any thing which hath a tendency to render his (Davenport's) ministry contemptible, lest they kick against the pricks, and be found fighting against God. But rather let all who love the prosperity of Zion, wish him God speed, and besiege the throne of grace night and day, that the blessings of more souls, ready to perish, may come upon him."

Thus, at this time, there were three distinct parties in the Christian community. In the first place, there were those, not a few in the ministry and among the laity, who looked upon the whole of the revival as spurious, and attributed it to Satanic agency. They had so regarded it from the first; and the mad freaks of Davenport and his associates could not fail to strengthen them in their opinion. Of these, Chauncey, of Boston, who wrote a book against it, may be considered the leader. At the head of the second party was Edwards, rallying around whom were all, who, themselves converted, and led by the influences of the Holy Spirit, were enabled to discern what was erroneous, and to separate "what was no part of the work from the work itself." Hitherto they had been enabled successfully to contend against the former class, and the revival spread through their instrumentality with great and increasing power. But now that the third party, headed by Davenport and his armor-bearer, were increasing in numbers and influence, they found their worst foes among them who were professedly of their own household. To battle with the avowed enemies of the revival was comparatively easy; but how could they contend against those who professed to be foremost in this good work, and who, in the opinion of great multitudes, were in reality the most honored instruments in carrying it forward? The situation of Edwards, and of those who acted with him, was one of exceeding great perplexity. They did, perhaps, all that ought to have been expected. But the revival came to an end; and this result, according to the concurring testimony of all parties, is mainly to be attributed to the influence of the misguided Davenport. In the opinion of our author, "he led it so deeply into such errors, that it ought to stop, and provoked the opposition which brought it to an end." What share of blame in this matter ought to be attached to Whitefield it is impossible to say. It is evident, from his published Journals, that he attached great importance to impressions from texts of Scripture occurring to the mind;* that he regarded spasmodic affections, involuntary contortions, and fainting fits, when they occurred under his preaching, if not always, yet generally as evidences of a "gracious work." His

* It appears that Edwards purposely took an opportunity to converse with Whitefield, alone, about *impulses*, and told him some reasons he had for thinking that he gave too great heed to such things. Whitefield did not seem to be offended; but yet did not appear inclined to converse much on that subject, or be convinced by any thing that Edwards said to him. "It is also true," he adds, "that I thought Mr. Whitefield liked me not so well for my opposing these things; and though he treated me with great kindness, yet he never made so much of an intimate of me as of some others."—P. 100.

published opinions of the degeneracy of the clergy, and of the lamentable state in which he supposed them to be, have already been adverted to. These were powerful weapons in the hands of such a man as Davenport. Added to this, Whitefield had indorsed the fanatic, throughout the length and breadth of the land, as a most eminent saint. What wonder, then, that he supposed himself to be some great one, and that multitudes, from the least to the greatest, gave heed to him, saying, "This man is the great power of God?"

Trumbull, in his *History of Connecticut*, relates some curious particulars relative to his peculiar mode of address. He says,

"He had a strange, singing tone, which mightily tended to raise the feelings of weak and undiscerning people, and consequently to heighten the confusion among the passionate of his hearers. This odd, disagreeable tuning of the voice in exercises of devotion, was caught by the zealous exhorters, and became a characteristic of the Separate teachers. The whole sect was distinguished by this sanctimonious tone."—Vol. ii, p. 160.

Several churches exist at the present day in New-England whose origin may be traced to the separation caused by Davenport; and so far as the nasal twang is concerned, the reader may possibly have met with some of his legitimate successors.

Fortunately for the cause of truth in after ages, although too late to prevent or stay the consequences of his erratic course, Davenport was led to see and acknowledge his errors. He published, under his own signature, his "Retractation." It is dated July 28, 1744, and is given at full length by our author. In some respects it is one of the most curious documents that ever issued from the press. We afford room for a few extracts. He says,—

"I am now fully convinced and persuaded that several things, which in the time of the work I was very industrious and instrumental in promoting, by a misguided zeal, were no parts of it, but of a different and contrary nature and tendency, and that I was much influenced in the affair by the false spirit, which, unobserved by me, did (as I have been brought to see since) prompt me to unjust apprehensions and misconduct in several articles; which have been great blemishes to the work of God, very grievous to some of God's children, no less insnaring and corrupting to others of them, a sad means of many persons questioning the work of God, concluding and appearing against it, and of the hardening of multitudes in their sins, and an awful occasion of the enemies blaspheming the right way of the Lord, and, withal, very offensive to that God before whom I would lie in the dust, prostrate in deep humility and repentance on this account, imploring pardon for the Mediator's sake, and thankfully accepting the tokens thereof."

He then goes on to specify his peculiar errors and sins. Among them, he enumerates his violations of the ninth commandment, in speaking evil of ministers, and proclaiming many of them to be unconverted; thus setting up his private judgment as an infallible standard of other men's piety. He asks forgiveness of those ministers whom he has thus injured, by blasting their characters and causing divisions and separations in their flocks. He confesses to have been led astray by the false spirit, in following impulses, or impressions as a rule of conduct, whether they came with, or without a text of Scripture. He believes, further, that he has done much hurt by encouraging private persons to a ministerial kind of exhorting, such men being thereby much puffed up, and falling into the snare of the devil. Of the affair at New-London, to which reference has been made, he says, copying from a letter which he had written to Barber,—

"I was, to my shame be it spoken, the ring-leader in that horrid action; I was, my dear brother, under the powerful influence of the false spirit almost one whole day together, and part of several days. The Lord showed me afterward that the spirit I then acted by, was in its operations void of true inward peace, laying the greatest stress on externals, neglecting the heart, full of impatience, pride, and arrogance; although I thought in the time of it that it was the Spirit of God in a high degree; awful, indeed! My body, especially my leg, much disordered at the same time, (I had the long fever on me and the cankered humor, raging at once,) which Satan and my evil heart might make some handle of."

We have not thought it necessary to follow our author, in his accounts of the travels of Whitefield, or of the revival in the middle and southern states. He devotes an entire chapter to Whitefield in England on his return from America, his breach with Wesley, and the revival consequent on his labors in Scotland: matters, in themselves, perhaps, sufficiently interesting to those who have no other sources of information, but rather irrelevant to the "great awakening." This, as we have seen, pertains chiefly to New-England, and in the final chapter, entitled, "the Results," our author confines himself, in the main, to that section of country. And what, the reader will ask, what were the results? In the first place, it is evident that great multitudes were converted, and added to the churches. Not, however, by any means so many as would be inferred from Whitefield's Journal. He was not a good judge of numbers, as appears from his exaggerated statements relative to the size of his congregations. Thus he preached, he says, to about six thousand hearers in Dr. Sewall's

meeting-house in Boston. The house is still standing, and although, from the new arrangement of the seats, it will hold more than formerly, yet, from actual measurement, has seats only for twelve hundred and sixteen persons. A number more might have found standing room, but it is scarcely possible that there were one half of Whitefield's estimate. Again, on the following morning, at Mr. Webb's meeting-house, at any rate not larger than Dr. Sewall's, he says, "There were about six thousand hearers in the house, besides great numbers standing about the doors." So also his statements relative to the numbers converted under his ministry must be received with caution. Indeed, he allowed himself no time to ascertain the results. He preached; saw much weeping and fainting in his auditory; gave a rough guess at the number wrought upon; entered it in his Journal with a note of thanksgiving; and passed on to repeat the process. Our author is very candid in his admission of these facts, and gives different authorities by whom the number of converts in New-England is estimated, variously at from twenty-five to fifty thousand.* Taking even the smaller number, which is probably below the truth, and estimating the whole number of inhabitants in New-England, at that time, at about two hundred and fifty thousand, we have one-tenth of the whole, including men, women, and children, as subjects of the revival.

But there were other, and even more important results. One we have already glanced at; we mean the conversion of those who had entered the ministry, and continued in it, without a saving knowledge of the truth. It is impossible to tell how many there were of this class. Philip, in his "Life and Times of Whitefield," says, that on his third visit to America there were not less than twenty ministers who considered him as the means of their conversion, in the vicinity of Boston alone. "And," says our author, "those who owed their conversion to the revival, in the whole country, must have been considerably more numerous." Then again, many ministers who had been themselves converted, were quickened to new life, and began to labor for visible manifestations of God's presence among their people. The doctrine, ruinous and fatal in its tendency, that ministers may be manufactured of unconverted men, received its death blow. It may prevail to some extent, even yet, in some theological seminaries; but it would be

* "It was estimated that in two or three years of the revival, thirty or forty thousand souls were born into the family of heaven, in New-England; besides great numbers in New-York and New-Jersey, and in the more southern provinces."—*Trumbull's Hist. Conn.*, vol. ii, p. 8.

a difficult task to find, in any part of these United States, a society of any evangelical creed that would be satisfied with, or even tolerate, the labors of a minister who does not, at least, profess to have been regenerated. This, as we have seen, was not the case previously to the "great awakening," and the uncharitable and wholesale denunciations of Whitefield, and even the bitter revilings of the demented Davenport, while they served to turn the attention of the people to this subject, were mercifully overruled to effect so important a result.

The history of "the great awakening" teaches several truths on the subject of revivals, to which we turn our attention before closing this article. It shows very clearly, in the first place, that a revival of religion is the work of God; that it is "not by might, nor by power, but by my Spirit, saith the Lord of hosts." Instances are on record of persons being awakened by hearing sermons from their pastor which he had preached to them before without affecting them. How was this? It can only be accounted for by referring it to the sovereignty of Jehovah. Eloquent as was Whitefield, and powerful as were the efforts which he put forth, and successful as he generally was, instances were not few where he labored in vain and spent his strength for naught. In his own language, his congregations, in some places, were so unconcerned that he "began to question whether he had been speaking to rational or brute creatures." At other times, again, "the people," he says, "began to melt soon after I began to pray;" and not unfrequently there were visible manifestations of God's presence and power before the text was announced. So it was also in the history of others who labored for the salvation of souls, and so it has ever been from that day to the present. "My glory will I not give to another," saith the Lord; and the history of every revival teaches, with more or less clearness, that the excellency of the power is of God, and not of man. Let not the minister of Christ infer from this, that it is a matter of indifference how he preaches; or be tempted to rest satisfied without seeing fruit of his labors. It is required of him that he put forth his best efforts in the exercise of his best judgment, and God hath promised the outpouring of his Spirit in answer to the prayers of his people. Nor need there be any difficulty on this subject. For the fruits of the earth, the husbandman is indebted to the fertilizing shower, and the genial rays of the sun. God giveth the increase; but success is proportionate to the industry and the skill of the cultivator. There are times and seasons, too, when the indications are such as to warrant and demand, on the part of him who would cultivate Immanuel's field,

increasing labor and the exhibition of peculiar portions of divine truth. Hence the force of that declaration, "He who winneth souls is *wise*;" and the exceeding preciousness of that promise, "If any man lack *wisdom*, let him ask of God."

We may learn from the history of the great awakening something of the subject matter and of the style of preaching best calculated to promote the salvation of sinners. The revivalists of that day laid aside their philosophy and metaphysics. Disputed doctrines and sectarian dogmas were for a while forgotten. The sinner's depravity and danger; the necessity of regeneration; the atoning blood of Christ, its freeness, and its sufficiency; these were the themes on which they dwelt, and these the efforts which God delighted to bless.

An extract from Whitefield's reflections on leaving New-England, will give the reader an idea of his opinion relative to the *manner* of successfully proclaiming Scriptural truth. He says,—

"I think the ministers preaching almost universally by notes, is a certain mark they have, in a great measure, lost the old spirit of preaching. For though all are not to be condemned that use notes, yet it is a sad symptom of the decay of vital religion, when reading sermons becomes fashionable, where extempore preaching did once almost universally prevail. When the spirit of prayer began to be lost, then forms of prayer were invented; and I believe the same observation will hold good as to preaching."

We make no comment on these remarks; but it is strange that those who profess to be great admirers of Whitefield, and to be desirous of emulating his success, should, in this respect, be so backward in following his example.

A lesson, which cannot be too frequently inculcated, is also taught us by the history under consideration. It is the insidious nature of spiritual pride. No one is so liable to this as the minister of Christ, whose labors, through the divine blessing, have been more than ordinarily successful. Davenport, as we have seen, was so puffed up by it as to fall into the snare of the devil; and Whitefield attributes to his success many of his aberrations from the path of humility. His celebrated letter to his spiritual guide, in which he talks to Wesley in a dictatorial style, and tells him if he "must dispute to stay till he is master of his subject," is apologized for by our author, by saying, "He would not have written it had he not been puffed up by his reception and success at Boston." Whitefield himself, writing to a clerical friend, uses the following language :—"You know, reverend sir, how difficult it is

to meet with success, and not be puffed up with it ; and, therefore, if any such thing was discernible in my conduct, O, pity me, and pray to the Lord to heal my pride. All I can say is, that I desire to learn of Jesus Christ to be meek and lowly in heart ; but my corruptions are so strong, and my employ so dangerous, that I am sometimes afraid." What need, therefore, of incessant watchfulness on the part of every successful minister, lest the enemy get an advantage over him while engaged in an "employ so dangerous" and with "corruptions so strong !"

Finally, our own impressions of the beneficial tendency of the *itinerant* system, by which a constant interchange of ministerial gifts is attained and perpetuated, have been abundantly strengthened by a perusal of the volume before us. Whitefield, as is well known, traveled incessantly throughout the country ; and Bellamy, Parsons, Tennent, Mills, Pomeroy, and Wheelock will be had in everlasting remembrance as the most zealous promoters of the revival ; and *they* were *itinerant* preachers : traveling extensively, almost constantly ; and preaching in every pulpit to which they could gain admittance. The churches of the Congregational and Presbyterian denominations, as well as the Baptists and Episcopalians of the present day, are beginning to give practical evidence of their belief in the beneficial effects of our system, and *changes* are becoming almost as frequent among them as among the Methodists. There is, however, this difference : while with us, these results are produced by the operation of a wisely-ordered and well-directed *system*, among them, these changes are frequently involuntary on the one side or the other ; and are very often compelled by mere caprice on the part of the laity. In the smaller and less wealthy congregations a very few men—a small minority in point of number—have it in their power, by management, and especially by "withholding the supplies," to dismiss, with or without cause, their minister. They say unto him, Go, and he goeth. But where ? The world is all before him, but not exactly, "where to choose." To us, there is not on this earth a more pitiful sight than the caucussing and electioneering of a flock on the subject of dismissing an old shepherd, or calling a new one ; unless, indeed, it be the discharged shepherd himself traversing the country by stage, and steamboat, and rail-car, to find a flock willing to give him a part of their fleece in return for his labors. Whenever we meet such men, on such an errand, we are involuntarily reminded of those "shepherds" of whom Isaiah says, "They all look to *their own way*, every one for *his gain*, from his quarter ;" and of the "wight," whom the poet calls

" Abject, mean, and vile ;
Who begs a brother of the earth
To give him leave to toil !"

Such spectacles are very common, and of increasing frequency throughout the country. They are bringing the ministerial office into contempt. There is no apostolic model for a clergyman in this predicament ; and we place on this page the prediction, to be referred to by a coming generation, that a system resembling our own, in its essential features, will be adopted and prevail in the various branches of the Christian church long before the meridian of the millennial glory. F.

Danbury, Conn., July, 1842.

ART. VIII.—*Communication from Rev. Dr. Beasley, on Locke's and Cousin's Philosophy.*

[THE following communication, from a highly respectable clergyman of the Protestant Episcopal Church, was received in time to be inserted in our July number, but, upon examination, it was found space was wanting. We now give it to our readers with great pleasure, not doubting but it will be both welcome and instructive to them. Our correspondent has power and discrimination in metaphysical investigations which command high respect. His preferences are clear enough ; and though some of his notions are a little questionable, we doubt if he is soon, upon fair principles, convicted of heresy. Locke has defects, but he is destined to immortality. He was an original thinker, and after all that has been written by his successors, no man can claim to be well read in the science of the human mind until he has carefully studied the *Essay on the Human Understanding*.]

REV. AND DEAR SIR,—A clergyman of your church, who is a subscriber to your Review, and an inhabitant of this town, was so kind as to place in my hands the number of your periodical for the present month. I have read it with attention, and some of its articles with more than usual satisfaction. The work of Dr. Elliott, denominated a "Delineation of Roman Catholicism," is well-timed, and if executed with ability, as seems to be implied in your criticism, must be calculated to disclose to Protestants in this country the manifold errors, heresies, and abuses of that pernicious superstition ; a kind of information of which the citizens of this

republic are greatly in want. But the two articles which peculiarly attracted my attention were the criticism upon the Oxford controversy, and the review of the philosophical works of Professor Cousin, of Paris. Upon each of these subjects allow me the privilege of a few remarks, as they present topics of reflection which are deeply interesting to the whole Christian world, while the last is intimately connected with the advancement of true science and sound philosophy in our country.

The review of the Oxford controversy appears to me to be written with uncommon ability; but while I willingly bestow this encomium upon the writer, you will allow me, at the same time, to observe, that by the omission of some important facts, his production is calculated to do great injustice to the Episcopal Church, both here and in England. These facts are, that these new doctrines, so strongly tinged with popery, are confined to a very small and inconsiderable portion of the English and American clergy, if, in their utmost extent, they have been embraced by any besides their immediate revivers; that the whole body of bishops in England, and her ablest presbyters, are arrayed in vehement opposition to them; and that all lawful expedients have been already adopted to sink them into disrepute and contempt, and to cleanse the sacred skirts of our venerable Church from this attempt at a foul pollution of them.* The Church of England is not more liable to just censure for this attempt of a few weak and misguided agitators to corrupt her doctrines, and soil the purity of

* We permit our respected correspondent to make his own representations as to the extent and character of the opposition which has been made to Puseyism in the English Church, but cannot suffer them to pass without an expression of fear that they are much too strong. That most of the "bishops" and the "ablest presbyters" of the English Church have made "vehement opposition" to the errors of the Oxford school, is true; but that these errors "are confined to a very small and inconsiderable portion of the English and American clergy," is not so clear as we could wish.

"All lawful expedients," says our correspondent, "have been adopted to sink them into disrepute and contempt." We should be much better pleased to hear it said that the *primitive discipline* had been called into requisition, not merely to "sink" the "revivers" of "these doctrines," so "strongly tinged with popery," "into disrepute," but to purge the Church of both the "doctrines" and their "revivers." What is the character of a church which can resort to no "lawful expedients" to rid herself of heresy? The bishop of Oxford *advised* that "the Tracts for the Times should be discontinued," as "*tending to disturb the tranquillity of the church.*" Several bishops have condemned their leading doctrines: but what then? Why, the Puseyites still hold up their heads as high as ever. Mr. Palmer, a fellow in the University of Oxford, says, "I tell you plainly, that for myself I utterly reject and anathematize the principle

her sacraments and formularies of worship, than was the primitive church for the errors, heresies, and schisms, which disturbed her tranquillity and sundered her unity.* And all Protestant denominations, instead of discovering a willingness or propensity to subject her to unmerited reproach on this account, should rather evince a disposition to sympathize with her in her misfortune, and vindicate her reputation from the charge of a papistical tendency, being assured that, if true, it would be a calamity to the Protestant world, and, if false, is a wrong inflicted upon the whole body of Christendom. Every member of the great Protestant family has a common interest, which should not only lead each to cultivate with the rest, the most amicable relations, but to exert himself to the utmost to guard the whole fraternity from hostile attacks, and undeserved censure, and misrepresentation.† Protestants should

of Protestantism, and if the Church of England should ever unhappily confess herself a form of Protestantism, then I would reject and anathematize the Church of England, and would separate myself from her immediately;" and still this gentleman holds his honors. Can nothing more be done? Alas for *primitive order*, if this is what we are to understand by it.

And what is doing in this country for the removal of the evil? We are sorry to mortify our good friend by referring to the published and well-known opinions of his own diocesan, and of several other bishops of the Protestant Episcopal Church. "The Churchman," and several kindred periodicals, which out-Pusey Dr. Pusey himself, are under the patronage of American bishops. All these things may be consistent with the insignificance which our correspondent attributes to the party, for aught we know, but we still have some doubts with regard to the matter.—Ed.

* That these "agitators" are "misguided," we have no doubt, and that they are "weak," abundant evidence is not wanting. We wish it were equally clear that they are "few." And when "the Church of England" shall exercise the *primitive discipline*, and separate from her communion these "few, weak, and misguided agitators," who would "corrupt her doctrines, and soil the purity of her sacraments and formularies of worship," then we will admit that she "is not more liable to censure for this attempt than was the primitive church for the errors, heresies, and schisms which disturbed her tranquillity and sundered her unity." We can but have the kindest feelings toward our highly respectable correspondent, and, of course, shall not willingly give him offense. But we must on this occasion speak out plainly. The very facts connected with the existence of a fatal "heresy" in the Church of England, and the Protestant Episcopal Church in this country, even according to the admissions of our correspondent himself, show volumes as to the defective organization, and the almost wholly inert discipline of those churches. What other church among the whole Protestant family would endure *bare-faced popery*, in its very arms, or suffer the monster to eat out its vitals, without using the *spiritual sword*?—Ed.

† We would contribute our part in this good work could we do any thing in this way. "Hostile attacks, and undeserved censure and misrepresentations,"

allow no rivalries or jealousies to interrupt the peace and harmony which subsist among them, or rupture the ties of charity and friendly correspondence. The Church of England has long enjoyed the signal honor of being regarded, with universal consent, as the bulwark of the Reformation or Protestant faith, and we may rest assured, that for no trivial consideration will she be induced to forfeit her title to that high and exalted rank. When her learning, talents, and worth shall be called into full exertion, she will demonstrate to the world that she is not unworthy of this dignity which has been conferred upon her.*

After these preliminary observations, I now approach the principal object of this letter, which is to furnish you a few reflections in regard to the science of metaphysics and the treatises of Locke and Professor Cousin, the last of which you have criticised in this number of your Review. Ever since, as a professor in that department of science in one of our universities, it became my province to enter into a thorough investigation of it, it has been a matter of surprise to me that the Essay of Mr. Locke should be so greatly misunderstood, undervalued, and derided; and still more, that it should be regarded as superseded by systems which have no pretensions to its merits. It was ushered into the world at the dawn of that celebrated period which has been denominated the last great age of science and literature, the age of Anne and Louis, when, perhaps, appeared the brightest constellation of writers that ever adorned the world. As soon as it was read, studied, and understood, it attracted the highest applause from all men of genius, taste, and learning. From that time to the present, the scientific and literary works of England and France have abounded with panegyrics of its author, and his decisions have been deemed oracular upon the several topics he discussed. Nor were the encomiums pronounced upon him confined to writers of inferior pretensions, or made to consist in vague and indiscriminating terms. The most illustrious men, who rose in succession during several generations, not only discovered a sense of his uncommon merits, but accurately discriminated his peculiar qualities and claims, and finely delineated the features of his character as an author. As a matter of literary curiosity, as well as to satisfy the demands of justice, I beg leave to present you a few of the most striking and

we have no fellowship for in any case. But if, when we try to "speak the truth in love," our words should be construed into all this, we cannot help it, though it may occasion us much pain.—Ed.

* So may it be! And may God in his mercy hasten the period!—Ed.

honorable testimonials to the high qualifications of this great father of metaphysics.

"The sage Locke," says Bishop Warburton, in a letter to Bishop Hurd, "supported himself by no system, on the one hand, nor, on the other, did he dishonor himself by any whimsies. The consequence of which was, that neither following the fashion nor striking the imagination, he, at first, had neither followers nor admirers; but being everywhere clear, and everywhere solid, he at length worked his way, and afterward was subject to no reverses. He was not affected by the new fashions in philosophy who leaned upon none of the old; nor did he afford ground for the after attacks of envy and folly, by any fanciful hypotheses, which, when grown stale, are the most nauseous of all things."

Lord Bolingbroke, a rival wit and philosopher to the bishop just mentioned, while upon most subjects they were in diametrical opposition, agrees with him about the merits of a man whom he is not ashamed to acknowledge as his master. In his second essay upon the first philosophy, he says, "When I read the Essay upon Human Understanding, I am led, as it were, through a course of experimental philosophy; I am shown myself; and in every instance there is an appeal to my own perceptions, and to the reflections I make on my own intellectual operations. I know that this method is disagreeable to some, and I am not surprised that it should be so. There are those who think they do not want it; and they are those who want it most. There are those, likewise, who fear it; because they apprehend that analysis of ideas and notions, that comparison of them with the real nature of things, and that steady precision in the use of words, which would reduce many a dogmatic system to pass for nothing better than a fanciful hypothesis, as it really is."

D'Alembert, perhaps, more exquisitely depicts the peculiar characteristics of Locke's work than any other writer, in the following passage :—"On peut dire qu'il créa la métaphysique à peu près comme Newton avait créé la physique. Pour connaître notre âme, ses idées et ses affections, il n'étudia point les livres, parce qu'ils l'auraient mal instruit; il se contenta de descendre profondément

* We can say that he created metaphysics nearly as Newton had created philosophy. To know his soul, his ideas, and his affections, he did not study books, because they would have ill instructed him; he was contented to descend profoundly into himself, and after having, so to speak, contemplated himself a long time, he only presented to men, in his treatise of the Human Understanding, the mirror in which he had seen himself. In a word, he reduced metaphysics to what it ought to be, in truth, the experimental philosophy of the soul.—*Translated for Ed.*

en lui-même, et après s'être, pour ainsi dire, contempler longtems, il ne fit, dans son traité de l'entendement humain, que présenter aux hommes le miroir dans lequel il s'était vu. En un mot, il réduisit la métaphysique à ce qu'elle doit être en effet, la physique expérimentale de l'ame." Exactly accordant with this view is that of Voltaire, who, outlaw as he was in matters of religion and revelation, was a keen and competent judge of the productions of genius. He remarks, that most authors had written romances when they attempted metaphysical speculations; but M. Locke had composed a true history of the human mind, and traced its operations with accuracy, from its earliest perceptions in childhood to its most complex combinations of thought in discourse and reasoning. We are all acquainted with the handsome compliments paid to this philosopher by Addison in his *Spectator*; by Thomson in his *Seasons*; and by unnumbered writers, who have recognized him as one of the prodigies of genius, and brightest ornaments of the English nation.

Now, sir, after this brief reference to the opinions entertained concerning Locke by these able men, and the exalted estimate they formed of his great work upon the *Understanding*, what are we to think of the representations given of his philosophy in the recent Scottish, French, and German schools? Which of these classes of critics has given a just account of this work, and which has failed in a full comprehension of its merits? Bishop Stillingfleet brought several exceptions to the *Essay*, some of which he made good, while others were refuted by the author with irresistible force of evidence; Bishop Butler detected a slight error in his philosophy, when he maintained, that personal identity consists in consciousness: but neither of these great men considered himself as offering any disparagement or indignity to the eminent reputation of the illustrious metaphysician. Deducting a few errors from his philosophy, which might be readily enumerated, and these great masters in science still left it entire as one of the noblest monuments of human genius, constructed upon the plan of inquiry recommended by Lord Bacon; and composed of materials which are imperishable. As far as I know, Mr. Hume was the first writer who ventured upon a bold and unqualified attack upon Mr. Locke as an author, declaring him, in a note of his history, among that class of writers who, on account of their political principles, had acquired a celebrity and literary distinction to which they were not justly entitled. In this attempt at that false criticism which pervades the *History of England*, the historian, without impairing the reputation of the great metaphysician, has only brought in

question his own taste, discernment, and philosophical pretensions. Had he carefully read, and thoroughly understood the Essay, he would not simply have better comprehended its claims to superiority, but have imbibed from its pages a clear and resplendent light of sound investigation, greatly preferable to that ignis fatuus of subtilty and refinement by which all his disquisitions are distinguished and vitiated. The next impugner of Locke's system is Dr. Reid, who revived, without acknowledgment, the objections of Bishops Stillingfleet and Butler, to which he added, as his own invention, the ideal theory, of which he accused him and all the philosophers, as an illegitimate attempt to explain the manner of perception, or the *modus operandi* in this process of nature. That Locke is guiltless of this scientific heresy, I think you will be convinced by the slightest perusal of his answers to Malibranche and Norris, and I have endeavored to demonstrate it beyond all contradiction in my Search of Truth. In this last disquisition, I seem not to have hit the prevailing taste, either at home or abroad, in metaphysical speculations, since but a single reviewer of our country, Mr. Flint, in his Western Magazine, thought it worthy of even an incidental notice. I have not been discouraged, however, by this cold and contemptuous neglect, since, with the usual vanity and ingenuity of authors, I have not only invented a solution of the fact, not dishonorable to the writer of the Search, but have also been upheld in perhaps a false confidence by a full conviction of the truth of my assumptions, and by the unsought expressions of approbation of the work privately conveyed to me from some of our countrymen most inclined to philosophical pursuits, as well as by the testimony of a German professor of this branch at Gottingen, who seems not to have been infected with the rage for transcendentalism, so widely diffused through his country, and to whom the volume was conveyed without any effort of mine. I must be indulged the hope, that when our judges of works shall be less captivated and engrossed by sonorous terms of art, artificial theories, and flowery speculations in this department of knowledge, and shall feel themselves equipped for a contest with the gigantic force of truth and nature, they will discover more meaning in that performance than they have hitherto discerned, and perhaps, with the German professor, will regard it as a respectable essay, and, at any rate, a satisfactory vindication of the leading doctrines in Locke's philosophy. That this system should be combated by German transcendentalists and French visionaries, or spinners of artificial theories in metaphysics, was to have been anticipated. The Essay upon the Human Understanding is too simple an inter-

pretation of nature not to have been repudiated by those whose first step in science is a leap out of the dominions of nature into the regions of romance, or, as they denominate them, of the pure reason. These inquirers deem it beneath the dignity of their philosophy to confine their researches to that world which was formed by the Creator, or to those truths which may be deduced from the ideas with which we are furnished by it. This is a degrading task, which they denounce as empiricism, or sensualism, or some such swinish drudgery of the intellect. They must climb at once upon what Lord Bolingbroke elegantly calls Plato's mystical ladder, which translates them to the regions of pure reason, incorporeal essences, abstract ideas, eternal models, and in this exalted clime they can trace the footsteps of abstract and immutable truth. What do you imagine was the process by which Kant was led to the grand discovery of his transcendental theory? He tells us the story himself, as worthy of perpetual memory. He informs us that it was to defeat the skepticism of Hume. That skeptic, he allows, had proved, beyond controversy, that neither from reason nor experience can we trace, in the system of nature, any necessary or established connection between cause and effect; and, of course, had not only broken, by a single stroke, that mighty chain of things, the first link of which has been represented as appended to the hand of Jupiter, but had also subverted the very foundations of experimental science. Kant justly considers this as a mischievous undertaking, and resolves to furnish the means of defeating it. And what do you imagine these means to be, or this remedy of the disease that is to be exhibited as a sovereign medicine, which, as soon as swallowed, is to bring to instant death that monster called skepticism, whose natural progeny are materialism, atheism, and fatalism, the horrid bugs and goblins that molest and haunt the walks of the lyceum and academy? In truth, it is a very empirical and miraculous panacea. Mr. Hume cannot, with all his penetration, discover any power in fire to burn fuel, or connection between the fire as a cause, and the consumption of the fuel as an effect, and can trace nothing but a succession of events in this operation of nature. Kant acknowledges the validity of his reasoning as applied to the course of this vulgar world, with which we become acquainted by experience and observation. But he transports us into the regions of his pure reason, and there, by the power of abstraction and comparison of ideas, he discovers the manner in which a cause must always produce its effect, and finds, *a priori*, an inseparable bond of connection between them. Thus is laid the foundation of transcendental metaphysics, which, in our

researches in science, might be assimilated to the pillar of cloud which went between the armies of the Israelites and Egyptians, were it not for the circumstance, that at no period of its progress does it emit any light, but presents to us the similitude of darkness, visible in the day time, and palpable obscurity in the night. The progress made in Germany by the Kantian doctrines, presents to us one of the most singular pieces of philosophical history that was ever witnessed by mankind, and reveals to us, in the strongest light, the tendency of that great, but fanciful people, to yield their understandings completely to the illusions of imagination, and to confound the mysterious, dark, and incomprehensible, with the profound and sublime. Their feelings and imaginations seem to delight in the obscure, and revel in mysteries, and provided their minds can range at large and drink their fill of this nutriment, they are little solicitous to satisfy their reason with the dry light of truth. In our country, however, I do fervently trust, that as a youthful nation just beginning to erect a scientific and literary reputation for ourselves, we shall commence our career upon the right plan, form just conceptions of the task which is to be executed, and resort to the best expedients to accomplish the object of our toils.

The great question which I next propose to solve is this : by what method shall we cultivate in our country the science of metaphysics? Shall we commence with the system of Locke, and build upon his foundation ; or, discarding his Essay as superseded by later investigations, shall we adopt the doctrines of the Scotch, French, or German school? As I am anxious upon this point, being fully convinced that the first is the only mode in which we shall attain to a sound and useful metaphysics, I crave your pardon for what I shall now advance in support of my opinion, and in refutation of those who are the advocates of a different procedure.

In order to recommend the great work of Locke to that respect, attention, and assiduous study which I desire, it must first be vindicated from the objections which have been alledged against it ; I mean the general outlines of these objections, for it would require a volume to enter into details. I speak to you now as a lover of science, an inquirer earnestly engaged in the pursuit of truth, and delighted to receive it from whatever quarter it may flow. If I had not thought I perceived in you more than usual intelligence, and a turn for philosophical inquiry, you would not have been put to the trial of perusing this paper. It is presumed, that in the genuine spirit of philosophy, you will rather be gratified than

wounded by any attempts to controvert your own positions, or those of the author whose works you are criticising.

In your review, in one place, you say, "It is on this ground, while we reverence Locke as a man, a philosopher, and a Christian, we cannot but discard the material tendencies of his system. To accuse Locke of being a sensualist, or materialist, because his system led to this, would be doing him injustice; for perhaps he never discovered the tendency of his doctrine of the origin of knowledge." This is to do honor to Locke's moral worth and Christian principle at the expense of his philosophical penetration. We may be assured, that if any one of his doctrines led to materialism, it would not have escaped his discernment, more especially when it is recollected, that by this means it would be brought into direct conflict with another part of his works, in which he asserts the immateriality of God and the human soul. Depend upon it there is nothing in his Essay, which, by just inference, leads to the conclusion that the mind of man is not a substance distinct from the body, or that is composed of the mere operations of corporeal machinery. As to the other term, sensualism, derived from the French school, when we hear Locke denominated a sensualist, we should be led to stare, if we annex to the term that moral combination of ideas which alone it denotes in the English language. We discover, however, upon inquiry, a philosophical signification of this word; and, according to this, you inform us, it implies, "that system which makes sensation the only principle and source of knowledge. Its fundamental maxim is: *Nihil est in intellectu, quod non prius fuit in sensu.*" And is Locke accused of maintaining this doctrine? Can those who think so have ever read his Essay? Does he not trace two sources or inlets of human knowledge, sensation and reflection? And can those operations of the mind which are the objects of reflection, such as hoping, fearing, believing, and the like, have originated in the senses? Even the amended maxim, as proposed by Leibnitz, *Nihil est in intellectu, quod non prius fuerit in sensu, nisi ipse intellectus*, cannot be made to square with the views of Locke, unless under the term *intellectus* we include not only the intellect, but also all our moral feelings, impressions, and emotions, of taste, and modes of pain and pleasure; for by reflection we obtain this whole train of thought and feeling. If, therefore, by sensualism we mean "that system which makes sensation the only principle and source of knowledge," certainly Mr. Locke is not justly ranked among its advocates, whatever may have been the abuses of his doctrines by others, who misinterpreted or misunder-

stood them. In referring the origin of human knowledge to the senses, he and Aristotle assuredly proved themselves true interpreters of nature, and followed the track pointed out by the Creator; for there can scarcely be a doubt in the mind of any intelligent man, that through the operation of our external senses the child derives its earliest notices of light, colors, sounds, and odors. If Locke be a sensualist, then, so is the great Contriver of nature; for he most indubitably communicates a knowledge of the external world solely through the instrumentality of our corporeal organs. When Leibnitz and his German disciples speak of the independence of the mind upon the body in the acquisition of its ideas, one would suppose they would have found an immediate and insuperable objection to their scheme, in the facts that the blind can have no conception of color, nor the deaf of sounds. Is not the system of Locke thus far sound and irrefragable, when he maintains, with Aristotle, that all our simple ideas of the world around us are obtained through the organs of sense? Is there any one, at this late day in science, who prefers to this scheme the fanciful theory of Malebranche, that we perceive all things in God, or the pre-established harmony of Leibnitz? Which is the more probable solution of these primitive phenomena of the human mind; that which supposes that the rays of light entering the eye and forming an image of the object upon the retina, enable us, by some inscrutable process, to perceive it; or that which either supposes the perception to be caused by the action of the divine Mind upon ours, or by the harmonious action of our minds with the operations of external nature? I presume we may be certain of the answer which would be returned to this interrogatory by every man of sense.

We have now proved by incontestible evidence, that Locke was not the broacher of sensualism, as it is lately called, and until philosophers shall discover some method by which mankind can obtain ideas of sound without ears, of light and colors without eyes, and of odors without noses, his system upon this point ought to be admitted as sound and irrefragable. And here allow me, reverend sir, to recommend a new method of reviewing works upon this subject, which I am inclined to think would lead to more important results than the one at present universally pursued in England, France, Scotland, and this country. Let the reviewers commence their criticisms of works upon this science with the inquiry, Has this author refuted the system of Locke, and given us more satisfactory solutions of the phenomena of the human mind? Has he shown that our knowledge does not commence in the operations

of sense? that there are more than two inlets of our simple ideas, sensation, and reflection or consciousness? that, with these alone, we cannot obtain ideas of personal identity, power, cause, and effect, of succession and duration, of space, time, and infinity, all of which have been supposed to furnish contradictory phenomena to this theory? By this method of procedure we may gradually erect a sound and solid system of metaphysics. It is true, that in this way, our reviewers will not be able to supply so many flourishing disquisitions, nor regale their readers with such a perpetual succession of fanciful hypotheses, that pass like meteors through the hemisphere of science, amuse the imagination with their glittering phases and eccentric movements, and then burst and disappear for ever. But in this way only can this department of knowledge be successfully cultured, and those principles established in it which will be practically useful. The present mode of treating this subject has brought it into distrust and disrepute among intelligent men; the one I propose will retrieve its forfeited reputation.

Having shown that Locke's system is free from the charge of sensualism, I need feel no solicitude concerning the consequences which may be deduced from that doctrine. As, nevertheless, my present object is to assist inquiring minds among us in the investigation of science, allow me a few remarks upon this topic also. You proceed, "What are the logical consequents of sensualism; or what is sensualism pushed out to its results? In the first place, all sensation is passive, consequently all its products must be passive. If, then, all the mental phenomena result from sensation, they must be passive, and there can be no such thing as a free and voluntary action. Thus one of the logical results of sensualism is fatalism. A second is materialism." Here you have allowed yourself to be betrayed into fallacies by the French professor. It is not just reasoning to say, that if all sensation is passive, all its products must be passive. The human mind may be passive in receiving its ideas of colors, sounds, tastes, and odors, and yet may be free in the exercise of its other powers, which are set in action by the information thus obtained. There may be an involuntary exercise of our perceptive faculties, but a voluntary exercise of our intellectual and moral. When a man, in a merchant's store, is examining the different colors of the cloths presented to his inspection, he is passive in viewing the colors; and yet free in making choice of the cloth which he purchases. Neither materialism nor fatalism, therefore, is a just deduction from sensualism. Because the servants that minister in the house are in a

state of slavery, it does not follow that all the inhabitants also are in the same condition. The infidels and atheists in France abused the doctrines of Locke, as they would have done any others, to purposes of materialism and fatalism, but if my memory serves me well, Condillac carried them to no such extreme, although he was by no means master of Locke's whole system. With the fine imagination of a Frenchman, he illustrated this theory of perception by supposing an animated statue, which exercised successively the several senses distinctly from each other, and ingeniously traced the train of ideas which might be obtained by each; but he was too good a Christian to have broached or advocated any principles injurious to morals or religion. This task was left by him to subsequent laborers in the field of skepticism and infidelity.

Having said thus much of the philosophy of Locke, let us now proceed to that of Professor Cousin. I entirely agree with you that his purposes are pure and upright, and that he is in heart opposed to the pantheism of Germany, as well as to all the materialism, atheism, and fatalism of the French school. My objections to him do not touch his moral or religious character, but affect solely his philosophical pretensions. He is a writer who discovers elegance of mind, a fertile imagination, considerable reading upon subjects of philosophy, sometimes more than usual penetration; but he is evidently not endowed with a metaphysical turn, and is by no means master of this recondite and profound science. Hence, he has no clear, distinct, and consistent scheme of doctrines and principles. His technical phraseology is not unfrequently without aptitude or authority, and his general modes of expression, although sonorous and imposing, are without distinct meaning, and approach nearly to an absolute jargon. Let me illustrate my views, and make good my exceptions, by a direct appeal to his works. He has filled volumes with his numerous disquisitions, but it would put any man to his wit's end to extract from them a clear and tenable system. In the golden days of this department of learning, when the minds of readers were in pursuit of truth, not fanciful speculations; of instruction, not mere amusement; his artificial style and splendid paradoxes would have been rated at a low price. When reading his pages, I seem to be perusing either a romance or a florid declamation, not a philosophical treatise. Let us see if we can lay hold of some stable doctrines amid the shadowy forms that flit through the mind, when following his train of thought.

First. How does the professor suppose human knowledge to commence? You tell me, "Not by overlooking the fact, that a

large portion of human knowledge is developed through the senses, (for so far sensualism is founded in truth,) but also by not forgetting the other sources of knowledge, that the soul opens within itself fountains of thought of equal, if not greater validity and importance. Sensualism overlooked some of the most important elements of knowledge, but true eclecticism overlooks no source, no element of human thought. All the phenomena of consciousness are brought within its compass and subjected to its scrutiny. In a word, it introduces spiritualism upon the basis of experience; and thus opens the widest possible field for the most rigid analysis and induction." I presume you are aware, that as far as we have yet advanced, eclecticism enjoys no advantages over the *Essay of Locke*. Whatever spiritualism, or field of analysis and induction, may be recognized in the one theory, are also found in the other, since Locke introduces reflection or consciousness as the medium by which we attain a knowledge of the soul and all its properties and operations. But after Cousin, with his eclecticism, has traced consciousness as the inlet of our knowledge of the mind, instead of following Locke through the course of his experience about it, he, with the usual agility of a French fancy, describes its operations in terms rather dark, fantastical, and unintelligible. You thus quote him: "Its [eclecticism's] fundamental maxim is, that after having gained a secure footing in the world of consciousness, we must make a profound and wide-reaching review of all the phenomena which it comprises. We must be sure that we have omitted no element, that we can take no facts for granted, that we do not receive the phantoms of the imagination as the phenomena of consciousness; we must be sure not only that we have omitted no real element, that we have introduced no foreign element, but also, that we have seen all the real elements under their true aspect, and under all the aspects which they can present." This is very rhetorical writing, and better suited to a Paris audience than the cool chair of a lecturer; but we must presume that he here means to enjoin upon inquirers an adherence to the rule, that they should be careful in tracing the operations of consciousness, and not ascribe to its action any phenomena which are to be referred to our other powers. This is wholesome discipline, but how are we to understand the sentences which immediately follow? "And while so far as relates to ontology [being] the dim lights of sensualism lead us from activity to nothingness, from phenomena to no substantial cause, eclecticism claims that in the phenomena of activity are developed personality, the world, and their cause; or, in other words, humanity, nature, and God." "Now

in point of fact," says Cousin, "human knowledge embraces both the external world, and the soul, and God." Never did I pass through a darker entry into the light of clearer and more indubitable truths. Surely all sound philosophers, from Thales to Locke, have, without the assistance of any eclecticism, reached the conclusions, that there are a God, a world, and a soul in man. But can any one inform us how sensualism, by its dim lights, leads us from activity to nothingness, or from phenomena to no substantial cause? We should suppose that a mere contemplation of external nature by the senses would lead us to a conception of a God, its cause, and certainly save us from plunging into the gulf of nothingness. But Professor Cousin has a more expeditious course, by which he can reach the being of a God. He can dig up this rich treasure, with many other precious metals, out of the teeming field of consciousness, in which he imagines reason to be the laborer. Instead of uniting himself to the ranks of infidels, atheists, pantheists, and fatalists in France, you exclaim, in reference to his works, "I look beyond all these questions, and think that I discover some glimmering rays betokening the dawn of a brighter day, to those that have long sat in darkness, when I hear the champion of this new philosophy, on all occasions, distinctly and without reserve, acknowledging and proclaiming, 'the reality of our instinctive faith in God, in virtue, in the human soul, in the beauty of holiness, and the immortality of man.'" It is worthy of all praise in this French writer, to controvert and refute the principles of infidels and skeptics, but in accomplishing this end, he must be careful to establish his hostile system upon correct maxims and a stable foundation. He will not make proselytes of the French skeptics, nor lead them to the belief of a God, of our souls, and a future state, by maintaining that we have instinctive perceptions of these great objects of faith and knowledge. This is to interpolate new laws into the code of nature. Our moral sense, indeed, gives us instinctive ideas of right and wrong, of virtue and vice, but where are the instincts that give us immediate information that we have souls, or thinking substances distinct from our bodies, that there is a God, and, above all, that we shall continue to exist in a future state? We might as rationally speak of our instinctive knowledge of the planetary system, or of the theory of gravitation. And as these great truths in natural philosophy would gain no additional evidence by supposing them the suggestions of instincts; so is it with these great and fundamental dogmas. It is sufficient to give them entire validity, that they are attained and established by the legitimate exercise of

reason. Religion desires no unsound theories in science to support her pretensions and secure her triumphs.

Excuse me for expressing my surprise that so sensible a writer as this reviewer could commend or justify the ridiculous affectation of introducing into this science the use of the terms, "me" and "not-me," as expressive of what is personal to us, and what is foreign from ourselves, or the soul, and that which is not the soul. If the terms me and not-me be equivalent to spirit and matter, I am sure we might leave it to prattling children to decide which are preferable. But the fact is, they are not significant of the same combinations of ideas, for the word I or me includes my body as well as soul, which constitutes a part of my person, or personal identity. And what sort of figure does not-me cut, as expressive of matter, or an external world? The souls of other men—nay, the principle of life, even in monkeys and baboons—are the not-me, as well as the material universe, and there is a disgusting pedantry and affectation in this far-fetched and inapt use of those terms.

But we will now examine this consciousness, which is so fertile a field from which knowledge is to be drawn by our professor. German spectacles had discovered two layers in this soil, like those traced in the earth by geologists, the one superficial, and exposed to the inspection of vulgar eyes, the other hidden deeply, and to be discerned only by the telescopic vision of metaphysicians, or of those writers who, like Coleridge, had borrowed the German spectacles. Here they greatly outstrip Locke and Aristotle, who had thought that reflection or consciousness is a very simple operation of the mind, and, for the most part, involuntary, and scarcely apparent to the agent himself. The professor, however, discovers many mysteries in the subject. I must hasten forward with these criticisms, for I should regard it an intolerable task to make a clear and definite system of doctrines out of these numerous productions. "Can there be a single act of consciousness," says Cousin, "without a certain degree of attention? Attention, therefore, is the condition of all consciousness." All other writers I ever read consider consciousness an involuntary act of the mind, and attention a voluntary act. The first is indulged without effort, the second implies effort. Can the less intense exercise of thought imply the greater, or does not the greater rather include the less? Stretched under a cool shade in summer, we enjoy the consciousness of being, and allow the mind to float loosely upon the prospects presented to the eye, or any indifferent subjects of contemplation. Presently some one is seen approaching with whom we are deeply interested. Would not our

attention be now awakened, and directed to a single object? He would make strange confusion among the powers and acts of the mind! The child finds it very difficult to acquire the habit of fixing its attention upon its studies, but surely the most ignorant persons would not suppose it difficult to indulge its consciousness, which it must do while alive and awake. The reverse, therefore, of the professor's doctrine is true; where there is attention, there must be consciousness, but surely consciousness does not always imply attention. And the very argument by which he endeavors to support his fallacy is a proof of the opposite doctrine, since that phenomenon of the human mind, denominated a revery, is produced, not by "weakening or destroying attention," as he avers, or "confusing and dissipating our thoughts;" but by allowing a few interesting thoughts to engross and absorb the mind, and thus withdraw the attention from all other objects. Hence, men actuated by strong passions, at the time, are most prone to revery, the reverse of which would be true upon the principles of our professor. But this is a trifling error when compared to his whole doctrine about consciousness. The following propositions are said to form the immutable basis, given, drawn out, and demonstrated in the most rigid formulas of science, of the instinctive faith of the human race: "Every fact of consciousness is psychology and ontology at once, and contains already the three great ideas which science afterward divides or brings together, but which it cannot go beyond, namely, man, nature, and God. But man, nature, and God, as revealed by consciousness, are not vain formulas, but facts and realities." According to this doctrine, every act of consciousness reveals to us man, nature, or an external world, and a God. Is not this a strange jumble of ideas, and a most clumsy attempt at an interpretation of nature? That power of the mind by which we have simply a perception of all its operations, communicates to us a knowledge of man, nature, and God! If literary men would read Aristotle, Malebranche, and Locke until they understood them, such works as these might be heard and applauded by mixed assemblies in Paris or any other country, but printers would never venture upon their publication. But let us attend to his mode of reasoning in reaching this singular conclusion. It runs thus:—"If any fact of consciousness contains all the human faculties, sensibility, free activity, and reason, the me, and not-me, and their absolute identity; and if every fact of consciousness be equal to itself, it follows that every man who has the consciousness of himself, possesses, and cannot but possess, all the ideas that are necessarily contained in con-

sciousness. Thus every man, if he knows himself, knows all the rest, nature and God, and, at the same time, himself. Every man believes in his own existence, every man, therefore, believes in the existence of the world and of God. Every man thinks, therefore every man thinks God, if we may so express it. Every human proposition reflecting the consciousness, reflects the idea of unity and of being that is essential to consciousness. Every human proposition, therefore, contains God; every man who speaks, speaks of God; and every word is an act of faith, and a hymn. Atheism is a barren formula, a negation without a reality, an abstraction of the mind which cannot assert itself without self-destruction; for every assertion, even though negative, is a judgment which contains the idea of being, and consequently God in his fullness. Atheism is the illusion of a few sophists, who place their liberty in opposition to their reason, and are unable even to give an account to themselves of what they think. But the human race, which is never false to its consciousness, and never places itself in contradiction to its laws, possesses the knowledge of God, believes in him, and never ceases to proclaim him."

Was ever such a rhapsody as this obtruded upon the learned world as the sage maxims of science? Is it not the effusion of a wild and raving enthusiasm? I doubt not it excited enthusiastic applauses among a Parisian audience, who must still be smarting under the strokes of that scourge of infidelity, which so long afflicted their country, and dishonored the noble cause of liberty; but I must be allowed to express my deep regret that such works as these should gain popularity, and become widely circulated through our country. Is it not strange that our printers dare not venture upon the publication of the greatest works of England and France, which would form the minds of our community to elegance, greatness, and virtue, and yet they find a ready sale for productions of this whimsical character, as well as for the numberless crudities which have poured from the press upon the subjects of phrenology, of mesmerism, trivial romance, and all the forms of a light and illegitimate literature? Active and energetic as are our people in enterprises of pith and moment in the affairs of life, it would seem as if they were more than usually liable to be captivated with the whimsies of a false science and the glare of counterfeit beauties. Our youth, and too many of the more mature among us, instead of forming their minds into manly vigor and solid erudition, by the hardy discipline of a study and comprehension of the great lights of science, and ornaments of elegant literature, spend their days and nights in the perusal of papers, magazines, novels,

light effusions in poetry and prose, and all the various forms of trivial composition, and by this method contract a depraved taste, and an utter disrelish for the more finished and invaluable productions of genius. Hence the incorrectness of the prevalent taste, and the excessive fondness for tinsel ornaments of style and puerile arts of composition. If we wish to obtain a great reputation in foreign countries for science and literature, we must change our habits of study, and contract a familiar acquaintance with the finest models of writing. Nor in order to be initiated into the mysteries of any great branch of science, is it sufficient to give a cursory perusal to the works of its principal masters. We must pore over their pages until we have appropriated to ourselves their leading doctrines, penetrated their deepest thoughts, and mastered their entire scheme, and traced every maxim to its lowest foundations in truth. When I commenced the study of metaphysics with full purpose of gaining a thorough knowledge of it, I had an enthusiastic admiration of the Scottish writers, and especially of Dugald Stewart, whom I deemed the greatest metaphysician that ever lived. This impression remained upon my mind as long as I sought only elegant amusement in this species of reading, and my sole purpose was to supply my memory with rich images of fancy or bright and valuable ideas, a great profusion of which, in allusions, illustrations, and direct quotations, are interspersed through his disquisitions. He, and the other Scottish writers, have been said to be entitled to the credit of having rendered metaphysics popular, and introduced it into company as a subject of general reading and conversation. I am not sure that this observation will justly apply to any nation but our own, since Locke and Malebranche seem to have attracted considerable notice in England and France, and if we are to believe Mr. Pope, to have numbered learned ladies among their readers and admirers. But the misfortune in the case of the Scottish writers is, that if they have excited in the community a relish for such disquisitions, the science itself, in passing through their works, has become so diluted and vitiated as to have lost its vital spirit and invigorating power, as I am afraid must always be the case, before any abstruse science can be rendered popular, except in its results and elementary maxims. Of this I soon became convinced when I entered upon the serious task of its full investigation, and determined to sift thoroughly the principles and theories which had been propounded in it. Scarcely had I finished one volume of the *Essay of Locke*, when I became convinced that this author had been injuriously charged by Dr. Reid with maintaining the ideal theory, and every

step in my future inquiry has not simply confirmed me in that opinion, but in the wider conclusion, that, with a few exceptions, in all his leading doctrines, he is sound and irrefragable, and that any system of metaphysics which is solid and durable, must be built upon the foundation he has laid. In this sublime work he has rightly interpreted nature, and if sometimes he has wandered from the truth, he has kindled lights in the path that will guide future discoverers in the right way.

If readers will yield to my recommendation, and carefully study the Essay of Locke, we shall no longer find able men indulging such language as the following:—"It is one of the essential features of the eclectic philosophy, that it places our faith in the soul, and an external world upon the firm basis of the simple perceptions of the human mind." If the reviewer will closely consult Locke's Essay, and his answers to Malebranche and Norris, he will no longer assign the credit of this discovery to the French professor, or allow that it is due to Dr. Reid. Berkeley founded his skepticism not upon the principles of Locke or Des Cartes, but upon that *petitio principii*, or begging of the question, which superficial readers only would suppose to be justified by Locke's doctrine. Berkeley's treatise furnishes a singular example of the vast advantage sophistry may gain by the dexterous employment of a single word. Locke says all our *knowledge*, meaning the materials or ingredients of our knowledge, consists of the ideas we obtain from the senses and reflection, and the combinations of these by the faculties of the mind. Berkeley has only to say, it is evident, that all the *objects* of knowledge consist of these ideas, and his task is accomplished, an external world, among the objects of knowledge, is resolved into ideas of the mind, and disappears from the scene. The bishop forgot, as you somewhere remark, that by the same process an internal substance, or mind, would perish, since as an object of knowledge it would be transformed into a series of ideas; but he discovers no solicitude upon this point, and leaves the soul or mind to shift for itself. He who is merely endeavoring to gain the admiration of mankind by a display of sophistry, will always be allowed, without reproach by an indulgent public, to stop short at any point he pleases in exhibiting his feats of skill and dexterity. I never could feel much patience in perusing this work of Berkeley, for besides that it is egregious trifling with a grave subject of science, it seemed to me impossible that he should not have detected the fallacy in his first proposition, which, if it were true, would supersede his treatise, and exclude mind as well as matter from the universe. Mr. Stewart

informs us, that Berkeley has been heard to complain that Dr. Clarke had done him an indignity, inasmuch as when they had an interview, during the conversation which ensued, he did not even allude to this treatise. What had a man of such a sound and clear understanding as Clarke to do with such intellectual fooleries?

After what I have just said, of course I deny the truth of the following declarations:—"Des Cartes and Locke took the road that leads to skepticism, without knowing the end of it." There is no more advantage given to skepticism in Locke's work than in Reid's, and Berkeley and Hume could as well construct their nonsensical skepticism upon Reid's principles as upon those of Locke. They have nothing to do but, with Pyrrho, to deny the evidence of the senses, and they may rave at their pleasure. It is surprising how sensible readers, and even writers, take ideas upon trust and without examination, and then circulate them as striking apothegms, however fallacious they may be. As a remarkable instance of this, I would barely refer to the following saying of Mr. Mackintosh, mentioned in your note, who also has dabbled in metaphysics, and only soiled himself in its puddles—"Universal skepticism involves a contradiction in terms. It is a belief that there can be no belief." This is about as shining a paradox as that before quoted from Cousin; every negation of a God implies a God. The utterers of such blazing speeches as these ought surely to be decorated with a hat and feathers, and placed in the highest seats in the temple of wit and polite learning, as objects of merriment. A belief that there can be no belief, quotha! But who told you, Mr. Philosopher, that the skeptic, in denying all certainty of knowledge, denies all belief in others who are fools enough to let belief take hold of them, or implies any belief in himself? A believer in a no-God, or negative, would be a rather nondescript kind of animal. By the time a man has brought himself to deny all truth and certainty, he is rendered too great an outlaw in science to be bound by any statute which would subject him to an indictment for contradictions. An action for belief would hardly lie against him who disbelieved all things. Belief is a positive act of the mind, disbelief a negative; the negative can never imply the positive. The absence of heat gives the sensation of cold, but the sensation of cold can never imply the presence of heat. The absence of sound occasions silence, but silence can never include sound or noise.

It is surprising into what confusion the science of metaphysics has been thrown by late writers, and I will venture to predict that a clear, distinct, and satisfactory scheme of doctrines will never be

established in it, unless its cultivators build upon the foundations laid by Locke and Aristotle. Its principles are so abstruse, and to test their accuracy requires so close an application of mind, and perhaps so great an aptitude for such speculations, that very few persons are able to distinguish the truth from falsehood in regard to them, and hence that which is shining and fanciful is much more captivating to the vulgar than the solid and immutable. Perhaps I should find it difficult to carry the ordinary reader with me, should I attempt to expose the fallacy of any one solution of the phenomena offered by Cousin, because I should be compelled to dig down to the very foundations of this science. But to avoid this difficulty I will propose a simple case, intelligible to all, and see if I cannot exhibit in so strong a light the deficiency of the professor in such inquiries, as to lead you and my readers to contract an utter distrust of his opinions, and to stand upon your guard in receiving from his authority any propositions relative to this subject. The case I shall produce is a mere interpretation of one of the subordinate tenets of Locke's system, the solution of the problem, which traces to its origin and ascertains our idea of space. I shall first state the doctrine ascribed to Locke by the professor, and then, in immediate and bold contrast with it, the very words of the philosopher.

In his examination of Locke's Essay the professor says, "The systematic result of Locke is the confusion of the idea of space and body." Again: "Space coming from the sight and touch, could be nothing else but the idea of body." And finally: "Locke's fault is, in having confounded that which fills and measures space (body or solidity) with the proper idea of space itself." Now hear Locke in reply to this accusation, in a passage in which, as is very remarkable, he is contending for a clear distinction between our ideas of body and space: "But my question is, whether one cannot have the idea of one body moved while others are at rest? And I think this no one will deny. If so, then the place it deserted gives us the idea of pure space without solidity, whereunto any other body may enter, without either resistance or protusion of any thing. When the sucker in a pump is drawn, the space it filled in the tube is certainly the same, whether any body follows the motion of the sucker or not; nor does it imply a contradiction, that upon the motion of one body, another that is only contiguous should not follow it. The necessity of such a motion is built on the supposition that the world is full, but not on the distinct ideas of space and solidity. That men have distinct ideas of space without body, their very disputes about a vacuum plainly demonstrate.—By this

idea of solidity is the extension of body distinguished from the extension of space.—Of pure space, then, and solidity, there are several, of whom I confess myself one, who persuade themselves they have clear and distinct ideas; and that they can think on space, without any thing in it that resists or is protruded by body. This is the idea of pure space, which they think they have as clear as any idea they can have of the extension of body.” In this strain he proceeds in several places of his works, and discusses the metaphysics of this question with consummate skill. Now what shall we say of a writer who ascribes to Locke a doctrine against which he was vehemently contending with Des Cartes, if, indeed, Des Cartes’ principles come in collision with his, which need not be, since it is a very different thing to maintain a real plenum, and to assert that we can have no idea of pure space or a vacuum. A plenum implies that all *space* is filled with matter, and surely Des Cartes would have perceived that we could not be reasoning about a thing of which we had no idea. I have not his work at present by me, but I very much doubt whether he differs from Locke upon this point. But the French professor who undertakes to deal in these deep mysteries is utterly inexcusable for so egregious a mistake in a plain case. By such a blunder he forfeits all claim to our confidence in his authority.*

Thus, my dear sir, I have frankly communicated to you, and, I trust, with due respect and courtesy, the reflections which occurred to my mind upon the perusal of your review. I have taken this step solely with the view of promoting the progress of sound science in this young and beautiful republic. I cannot but hope that this communication will be received in the same spirit in which it is composed. I have formed the opinions now expressed after many years’ close application of the mind to the investigation of this subject, and they have been ripened by time into settled and confirmed convictions. If I am wrong, however, I am willing to be set right, and stand ready to listen to any arguments which can be urged against the conclusions I have drawn. Your kindness, I am assured, will dispose you to pardon this liberty taken by a stranger, from a consideration of its motive.

FREDERICK BEASLEY.

Elizabethtown, N. J., April 10, 1842.

* We here leave out one paragraph. It contains an additional illustration of the writer’s views of the character of Cousin’s philosophy, but nothing new; and as the communication, as it is, considerably exceeds in length the calculations of our printer, we find this slight retrenchment a necessary measure.—ED.

ART. IX.—CRITICAL NOTICES.

1. *Illustrations of Biblical Literature, exhibiting the History and Fate of the Sacred Writings, from the Earliest Period to the Present Century, including Biographical Notices of Translators, and other Eminent Biblical Scholars.* By REV. JAMES TOWNLEY, D. D. In two vols, 8vo., pp. 602, 608. New-York: G. Lane & P. P. Sandford. 1842.

THIS work is, in our judgment, decidedly the most important among the many republications of the present day. The author was for many years a Wesleyan Methodist preacher, and received from the British conference the strongest testimony of the high estimation in which he was held by that body, in being appointed secretary to the Wesleyan Missionary Society and president of the conference. Among several Biblical works that entitle him to the gratitude of posterity, and which have procured for him imperishable honors, the leading one is his "Illustrations of Biblical Literature."

The nature and character of this work are sufficiently indicated by the title-page, as above given. The history of the book, which, as Mr. Locke says, "has God for its author; truth, without any mixture of error, for its matter; and salvation for its end," must, of necessity, be the most important, and, to the Christian reader, the most interesting of all histories. The work not only constitutes an introduction to the study of the Bible, but also to the study of ecclesiastical history. Every minister ought, if possible, to have it in his library for constant reference.

The present is the first complete edition of the work which has been published in this country. It is beautifully executed, and the three volumes being compressed into two, it is much cheaper than the English editions. We hope the interest of the public in the work, and especially of ministers, not only of our own church, but also of other communions, will be manifested by adequate efforts to give it a wide circulation.

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2. *Elements of Chemistry, including the most recent Discoveries and Applications of the Science to Medicine and Pharmacy, and to the Arts.* By ROBERT KANE, M. D., M. R. I. A., Professor of Natural Philosophy to the Royal Dublin Society, Professor of Chemistry to the Apothecaries' Hall of Ireland, Member of the Society of Pharmacy of Paris, and of the Germans' Pharmaceutical Society, &c., &c. An American edition, with Additions and Corrections, and arranged for the Use of the Universities, Colleges, Academies, and Medical Schools of the United States. By JOHN M. DRAPER, M. D., Professor of Chemistry in the University of New-York, former Professor of Physical Science and Physiology in Hampden-Sidney College; Member of the Lyceum of Natural History of New-York, &c., &c., &c. Pp. 704. Harper & Brothers.

THE important and rapid improvement constantly making in the science of chemistry renders the text books relating to it, of a few years' standing only, comparatively worthless. It is a subject so continually changing its aspect, from the results of new investigations and discoveries, that the student, to see it in its present state, must consult its latest teachers and masters, and among these no one enjoys a higher distinction than the very able author of this treatise. The reputation which this work has acquired in Europe appears to us to be richly merited—it is more full, clear, correct, and thoroughly reasoned and illustrated than any similar work; and now that it is offered to the American public in a cheap and handsome form, it will here, as abroad, no doubt, be highly valued, and extensively adopted as a class book for giving instruction in this interesting science. If Dr. Draper, from being its editor, might be considered as speaking with some partiality when he pronounces it, "as a text book, undoubtedly the best extant in the English language," the testimony of Dr. Brande, so well known by his scientific labors, is liable to no exception; and he places it foremost among the elementary works to be studied. It would require far more space than we can now spare to *review* such a work as this; and therefore we shall not attempt it; but there is one feature we will briefly notice, and that is, its adaptation to practical purposes. It is well known, that of all the physical

sciences chemistry has ministered most largely to the improvement of the arts, and, consequently, to the increase of human happiness and comfort. Even agriculture, so long regarded as the mere drudgery of manual labor, is immensely indebted to it; and if it has been raised in dignity, and immeasurably advanced in productiveness, it is owing to the chemical labors of Davy, Chaptal, Leibig, and others. Now Dr. Kane has made an eminently useful book, by pointing out, as he goes along, how chemical analysis, combination, &c., may be, and are employed, for the production of valuable results; and for this reason the work is one of general interest—it is rendered so by its practical applications. Thus the farmer, the manufacturer, the artist, and, in short, almost every one may derive from it some important information. The illustrative drawings are numerous, and for the accuracy of the work we have highly satisfactory security in the fidelity and scientific reputation of the learned editor, who has also made some few additions of his own.

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3. *An Essay on Apostolical Succession; being a Defense of a Genuine Protestant Ministry, against the exclusive and intolerant Schemes of Papists and High Churchmen; and supplying a general Antidote to Popery.* By THOMAS POWELL, Wesleyan Minister. 12mo., pp. 354. New-York: G. Lane & P. P. Sandford. 1842.

THIS work is a triumphant refutation of high Church claims. The author begins with stating the grounds assumed by the advocates of *apostolical succession* from acknowledged authorities. He then proceeds to remove the foundations upon which they rest, by referring to Scripture and the usages of the primitive church. He gives us the history of the controversy, and has furnished many rare authorities from the reformers against the doctrine of episcopacy *jure divino*.

The work is executed in a perspicuous and manly style, and for conclusiveness of reasoning upon the subject exceeds any thing we have yet seen. Our high Church friends will probably try to frown it into contempt and oblivion, but we predict that they will not venture a fair grapple with the argument. We hope this work may be generally circulated among our preachers and people. At this time especially it is important that the subject should be studied by all—laymen as well as ministers. It is not now a difficult task for common minds to penetrate the veil of sophistry, by which our successionists have covered their unauthorized claims. It is easy to convict them of error from the mouths of their own witnesses. And while they are so industriously sowing *tares*, should we *sleep*? Read Mr. Powell thoroughly, and we doubt if your mind is not at rest upon the question.

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4. *Punishment by Death: its Authority and Expediency.* By REV. GEORGE B. CHEEVER. 12mo., pp. 156. New-York: M. W. Dodd. 1842.

THE subject of this volume is one of deep interest to the country and to the world. As the efforts of last winter, with the legislature of this state, to procure the abolishment of capital punishment, will probably be renewed at the next session, it is important that all who feel an interest in our common country's weal should acquaint themselves with the argument. Mr. Cheever's book presents the whole subject in a clear and strong light. He conclusively shows the divine origin, the right, and the necessity of inflicting capital punishment in certain cases. No unprejudiced person can read this book without feeling the potency of the argument. Among the mischievous causes from which our country is in danger, that false philanthropy which would bring down the majesty of the laws, by softening the penal code, is by no means the least. Crime, in all its forms, is already sufficiently rife in the country. With any less security of life than we now have, it might well be questioned whether we have much to boast of—whether indeed our doctrines of liberty and equal rights are not a mere speculation. We cordially recommend this book to the attention of our readers, and would gladly have given it an extended review had space permitted.

5. *The Works of the Right Reverend Father in God, Joseph Butler, D. C. L., late Lord Bishop of Durham. To which is prefixed an Account of the Character and Writings of the Author.* By SAMUEL HALIFAX, D. D., late Lord Bishop of Gloucester. 8vo., pp. 597. New-York: Robert Carter. 1842.

A REVIEW of this work may be expected in our next number.

6. *The History of the Reformation of the Church of England.* By GILBERT BURNET, D. D., late Lord Bishop of Salisbury. With the Collection of Records, and a copious Index. Revised and corrected, with additional Notes, and a Preface calculated to remove certain Difficulties attending the perusal of this important History, by the Rev. E. NARES, D. D. With a Frontispiece, and twenty-two Portraits. In four vols., 8vo. New-York: D. Appleton & Co. 1842.

THIS elaborate and useful History deserves an extended review, a work which we purpose to execute on a future occasion.

7. *The Bible and the Closet.* By Rev. THOMAS WATSON. And Secret Prayer successfully managed. By Rev. SAMUEL LEE, Ministers ejected in 1662. Edited by JOHN OVERTON CROULES. 32mo., pp. 140. Boston: Gould, Kendall, & Lincoln. 1842.

THIS is a choice specimen from the old writers. If the editor shall be as happy in his selections in future we doubt not but his labor in giving to the public in a new dress the thoughts of the great minds of the seventeenth century will be both acceptable and useful to the churches.

8. *The Claims of "Episcopal Bishops," examined in a Series of Letters.* By GEORGE DUFFIELD, Pastor of the First Presbyterian Church of Detroit. 12mo., pp. 316. New-York: Dayton & Newman. 1842.
9. *Life and Writings of Ebenezer Porter Mason; interspersed with Hints to Parents and Instructors on the Training and Education of a Child of Genius.* By DENISON OLMSTED, Professor of Natural Philosophy and Astronomy in Yale College. 12mo., pp. 252. New-York: Dayton & Newman. 1842.
10. *"Principalities and Powers in Heavenly Places."* By CHARLOTTE ELIZABETH. With an Introduction by the Rev. EDWARD BICKERSTETH. 12mo., pp. 298. New-York: John S. Taylor & Co. 1842.
11. *Heroines of Sacred History.* By Mrs. STEELE. 18mo., pp. 238. New-York: John S. Taylor & Co. 1842.
12. *Sacred Songs for Family and Social Worship: comprising the most approved Spritual Hymns, with chaste and popular Tunes.* 12mo., pp. 343. Published by the American Tract Society.
13. *The Mineral Springs of Western Virginia: with Remarks on their Use, and the Diseases to which they are applicable.* By WILLIAM BURKE. 18mo., pp. 291. New-York: Wiley & Putnam. 1842.

WANT of space is our apology for leaving several of the above works with no other notice than the simple announcement of their title-page. We hope this reason will be satisfactory. We find it impossible to devote as much room to this department in every number as we desire.

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